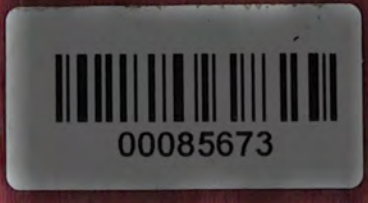
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SUPPLEMENT

TO

TRAVELS IN THE MORÉA.

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a^v

BY

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PREFACE.

THE following pages contain a series of questions of ancient history and geography, supplemental to "Travels in the Morea," which have arisen since the publication of that work, chiefly in consequence of the increased facilities given to the examination of the Peloponnesus by its liberation from the Turkish yoke.

The opportunity afforded by that event was eagerly embraced by the French Government,—under all its forms a liberal promoter of the advancement of science. In the year 1829, a numerous and select Commission of Geography, Natural History, and Archæology, was sent to the Peloponnesus, and there employed during two years, under the dangers and difficulties of an ungenial climate, and a country

desolated by the effects of one of the most cruel wars recorded in history. The most important result of these labours has been a map, on a scale of the two hundred thousandth part of a degree of latitude, or twenty-one English inches and three-fifths. That which accompanies the present volume has been reduced from the French map on a scale of something more than a third, but not without some variations, a few of which will find their justification in the occasional strictures on the French map[1], made by M. Bory de St. Vincent, Colonel d'Etat Major, and Head of the Commission of Physical Sciences, but who was not engaged, either on the triangulization or the topography of the

[1] Particularly in the Section des Sciences Physiques, i. p. 244, and ii. p. 52. In the former place occurs the following remark: "Nous devons faire au lecteur l'aveu que cette partie du pays et notre route depuis Sidheró-kastro jusqu'à Pávlitza est totalement défigurée dans la feuille 3 de la Planche III. Il faut pour mieux se reconnaître dans notre relation avoir recours à la carte de Gell, dont nous nous faisons un devoir de proclamer la supériorité pour l'itinéraire que nous suivons."—The map to which M. Bory alludes was constructed, the positions fixed, and the names inserted by me. All the topographical details were the work of Sir William Gell.

survey. Another deviation from the French authorities will be found in the modern names, the orthography of which has been made conformable to the rules followed in my other works relating to Greece, as explained in the Preface to "Travels in the Morèa:"—to these rules, notwithstanding the preference given to a different method by some of the most learned travellers in Greece, I continue to adhere, because, to those unacquainted with a living language, that mode of writing its names is the most useful, which informs the ear as well as the eye. There seems no reason why in this respect the modern Greek should be treated differently from the Turkish, Arabic, or Persian; as in all these languages, whenever ambiguity is apprehended, or greater etymological accuracy required, it is easy to add the name in its proper characters.

The position of some of the ancient names in the map, which accompanies these pages, forms a third kind of deviation from the authority of the great French work; my conclusions on the ancient positions differing occasionally from those of the French geographers, as well as from those of some recent German writers, and not unfrequently from my

former self. For this change of opinion, no apology is necessary, geography being made up of approximations, although it is by no means the only science in which error or uncertainty leads to certainty and truth.

The proper mode of representing Hellenic names by the English alphabet is a larger question, and affects modern works of every class relating to Greek literature. Presuming that, as our letters are Latin, the ancient Roman method is the best, and that exceptions from that rule should be for the purpose alone of indicating more correctly the orthography of the Greek word, I have not deviated on the present occasion from that principle, as exemplified on former occasions, unless when the Latin termination of a name, differing from the Greek in its gender, the Roman form has been preferred to the Latinized Greek, as more euphonious. Thus mountains, which in Greek are generally neuter, and in Latin masculine, afford a choice between the terminations *um* and *us*, the latter of which is more agreeable to the ear. The most eminent of the living historians of Greece remarks, in support of his method of rendering Greek names into Eng-

lish, that "he should not fear much severity of censure, if those only should condemn him, who have tried the experiment themselves." In fact, it is impossible in any manner to avoid inconsistencies without falling into a pedantic rejection of forms sanctioned by long usage, and introducing others, which no effort is likely to render familiar in our language.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO

Vol. i. p. 8.

The brazen tablet here alluded to was brought from Olympia by Sir William Gell, and is now in the Payne Knight Collection in the British Museum. It is $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and 4 inches in breadth, and terminates at the upper angles in two rings, showing that it was suspended on a wall, probably that of the temple of Jupiter. The following is its text in common Hellenic capitals :—

ΑϜΡΑΤΡΑΤΟΙΡϜΑΛΕΙΟΙΣ:ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΕ*
ϜΑΟΙΟΙΣ:ΣΥΝΜΑΧΙΑΚΕΑΕΚΑΤΟΝϜΕΤΕΑ:
ΑΡΧΟΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΙ:ΑΙΔΕΤΙΔΕΟΙ:ΑΙΤΕϜΕΠΟΣΑΙΤΕϜ
ΑΡΓΟΝ:ΣΥΝΕΑΝΚΑΛΑΛΟΙΣ:ΤΑΤΑΛΚΑΙΠΑ
ΡΠΟΛΕΜΟ:ΑΙΔΕΜΑΣΥΝΕΑΝ:ΤΑΛΑΝΤΟΝΚ
ΑΡΓΥΡΟ:ΑΠΟΤΙΝΟΙΑΝ:ΤΟΙΔΙΟΛΥΝΠΙΟΙ:ΤΟΙΚΑ
ΔΑΛΕΜΕΝΟΙ:ΛΑΤΡΕΙΟΜΕΝΟΝ:ΑΙΔΕΤΙΡΤΑΓ
ΡΑΦΕΑ:ΤΑΙΚΑΔΕΛΕΟΙΤΟ:ΑΙΤΕϜΕΤΑΣΑΙΤΕΤ
ΕΛΕΣΤΑ:ΑΙΤΕΔΑΜΟΣ:ΕΝΤΕΠΙΑΡΟΙΚΕΝΕΧ
ΟΙΤΟ·ΤΟΙΝΤΑΥΤΕΓΡΑΜΕΝΟΙ

And the following are the versions in Æolic, Hellenic, and Latin, by Professor Boeckh (C. I. G., No. 11), whose ingenious dissertation on the inscription leaves little doubt of the correctness of these conclusions [1].

Ἀ Fράτρα τοῖς Fαλείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἁ ρFαοίοις. συνμαχία κ' ἔα ἔκατον Fέτεα· ἄρχοι δέ κα τοῖ· αἰ δέ τι δέοι, αἴτε Fέπος αἴτε Fάργον, συνέαν κ' ἀλλάλοις τά τ' ἄλλ καὶ παρ' πολέμω· αἰ δὲ μὰ συνέαν, τάλαντον κ' ἀργύρω ἀποτίνοιαν τῷ Δὶ Ὀλυνπίῳ τῷ καδαλημένῳ λατρειόμενον. αἰ δέ τιρ τὰ γράφεα ταὶ καδαλέοιτο, αἴτε Fέτας αἴτε τελέστα αἴτε δᾶμός ἐντ', ἐπιάρῳ κ' ἐνέχοιτο τῷ ἐνταῦτ' ἐγραμμένῳ.

Ἡ ῥήτρα τοῖς Ἠλείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἡραιεῦσι. συμμαχία ἂν εἴη ἑκατὸν ἔτη· ἄρχοι δ' ἂν τόδε· εἰ δέ τι δέοι, εἴτε ἔπος εἴτε ἔργον, συνεῖεν ἂν ἀλλήλοις, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ πολέμου· εἰ δὲ μὴ συνεῖεν, τάλαντον ἂν ἀργυρίου ἀποτίνοιεν τῷ Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ τῷ καταδηλουμένῳ λατρευόμενον. εἰ δέ τις τὰ γράμματα τάδε καταδηλοῖτο, εἴτε ἔτης εἴτε τελεστὴς εἴτε δῆμός ἐστι, τῷ ἐφιέρῳ ἂν ἐνέχοιτο τῷ ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένῳ.

Pactum Eleis et Heræensibus. Societas sit centum annos: eam autem incipiat hic ipse: si quid vero opus sit vel dicto vel facto, conjuncti sint inter se et cætera et de bello: sin non conjuncti sint, talentum argenti pendant Jovi Olympio violato donandum. At siquis litteras hasce lædat, sive civis socialis sive magistratus sive pagus est, multâ sacrâ tenetor hic scriptâ.

[1] This I feel bound to confess, although at variance with some of my former remarks, in Travels in the Morea, vol. i. p. 8, note a.

There is one doubtful letter only in the tablet, the last of the first line, which is so much corroded, that it is difficult to say whether it was V or A: whether the word to which it belonged was ΕυFαοιοις or ΕϱFαοιοις; whether the place intended was Heræa or Eva (possibly Evæa), an Arcadian city mentioned by Stephanus. In favour of Heræa, the importance of that city and its proximity to the Eleian frontier nearest to Olympia are strong arguments. The difference, undoubtedly, is very great between the Hellenic HEPAIEIΣ or HEPAEIΣ (both which Stephanus has given as the gentiles of Heræa) and the Eleian EPFAOIOI. Boeckh thus explains it:—ut Ἡϱαεῖς, ita et Ἡϱαεῖοι commode dicebantur, pro quo Æolicum est Ἡϱαοῖοι ut ἐποίγω, μάγοιρος, ὄνοιρος (Gregor. p. 605). Accedit spiritus mutatio et digamma: ΗϱFαοῖοι. Nothing can be alleged against this conversion, because the Olympian tablet is the only example occurring of the Eleian dialect, which, according to Strabo, was the same as the Arcadian. But it is liable to the observation, that EYFAOIOI might be formed from EYAEIΣ in exactly the same manner; and that on the coins of Heræa, the legend of which is AϟƎ, in characters precisely resembling those of the tablet, except in their direction from right to left, no digamma occurs between the ϟ and the A.

In regard to the *stops* in this inscription, the same remark may be made as on those in many other documents of very ancient date, namely, that we find them sometimes separating single words, sometimes clauses, and sometimes as breaking a clause abruptly, as in the instance of TON AΘENEΘEN

ΑΘΛΟΝ : ΕΜΙ on a Panathenaic vase. It seems difficult to explain these irregularities but by the unskilfulness of the engraver, of which an example of another kind occurs in the second line, where instead of the final Σ of the first word and the stop which followed, he had engraved ΟΙ a third time, which two letters are distinctly seen under the Σ: and the penultimate letter of the eighth line was a Τ, afterwards changed into an Ε.

In like manner, on a small votive helmet in my possession (see Tr. in Morea, i. p. 47), it is clear that the artist by mistake began to engrave the letters from left to right, and then changing his intention, wrote in the opposite direction, so that we may trace the two first letters repeated at the end of the inscription, where the two last have been engraved over them.

VOL. i. p. 34.

Olympia, or the temple and sacred grove of Jupiter Olympius, was a dependency of Pisa, on the outskirts of that city. Pisa flourished only in the early ages of Grecian history. It was the principal city of this part of Greece, when Pelops, migrating hither from Asia, caused his name in process of time to be attached to the entire peninsula; and it was among the cities which led the way in planting colonies in Italy, where its name is still that of an Etrurian city. Even the decline of the Peloponnesian Pisa belongs to a time anterior to the foundation of Rome. On the return of the Heracleidæ

into Peloponnesus, Oxylus brought a new colony from Ætolia into the city of Elis, and thereby increased its strength so much that the Eleians wrested the management of the Olympic Festival from the Pisatæ, in whose hands it had been from its first establishment; and retained this privilege with little interruption until the 30th Olympiad. At that time the Pisatæ had in some degree recovered their power; and during the ensuing century, under their kings Pantaleon and his son Damophon, they presided at the Olympic Games, or at least participated in the direction of them [1]. At length the Lacedæmonians, having conquered Messenia, turned their arms against the Pisatæ who had assisted their late enemies, and formed with Elis an alliance which was cemented by the intention of sharing between them the maritime country which had belonged to the Pisatæ and their allies.

Two unsuccessful wars, in the 48th and 52nd Olympiads, brought ruin upon Pisa, Scillus, Macistus, and Dyspontium, and annexed all Triphylia to Elis, as Messenia had already been annexed to Laconia. In the 104th Olympiad the Arcadians endeavoured to make use of the name of the Pisatæ in celebrating the Games, but Pisa did not then exist as a city; for when in the 95th Olympiad (B. C. 400) the Lacedæmonians under Agis had invaded the Elcia and occupied Olympia, they declined taking away the charge of the exhibitions from the

[1] Strabo, p. 354 seq.; Ephor. ap. Strab. p. 358; J. African. ap. Euseb. Ol. 30; Clinton, Fasti Hellen. iii. p. 192; Pausanias, El. post. 22, 2, who asserts that the 8th and 34th were the only Olympiads managed by the Pisatæ.

Eleians, because the Pisatæ were "mere peasants unfit for such a trust [1]."

Such being the antiquity of the ruin of Pisa, we are not surprised to find that it no longer existed in the time of Strabo, or that Pausanias found the site converted into a vineyard, or that we should now be unable to find any remains of it, to assist the evidence of history in determining its site. But although little may have remained of it even in the time of Herodotus and Pindar, they were perfectly acquainted with its situation. Pindar continually identifies it with Olympia; and the historian is not less clear on this question, when in an accurate computation of distance he refers to Pisa and Olympia as the same point [2]. As Pausanias shows in his description of the road from the mouth of the Erymanthus towards Olympia that the latter was to the westward of Pisa, the only situation in which we can place it, consistently with the preceding testimony of Herodotus and Pindar, is on the western side of the rivulet of Miráka, where it unites with the *Alpheius*, the acropolis having probably occupied that separate height in advance of the range of *Cronius* which closes the vale of *Olympia* to the east, and on the northern side of which is the pass

[1] Τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἠλείοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτοὺς, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιουμένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς προεστάναι. Xenoph. Hellen. 3, 2, § 22.

[2] He says (2, 7) that there were 1485 stades by the road from the altar of the Twelve Gods at Athens to Pisa and the temple of Jupiter Olympius (ἔς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου).

leading from that vale to Miráka, as well as eastward along the right bank of the *Alpheius*.

Olympia, like some other hiera in Greece at which athletic contests were celebrated, consisted chiefly of a sacred inclosure containing several temples, and other buildings which appertained to the sacred offices or to the performance of the periodical exhibitions. We may readily believe also, that after the ruin and abandonment of Pisa, many private habitations arose round the sacred inclosure. Vestiges of this town are to be seen near the left bank of the *Cladeus* on either side of the site of the sacred grove, which, from the most ancient times of its existence, had borne the name of Altis [1]. Although trees were not essential to a sacred grove [2], the beauty of the buildings of Olympia was much enhanced by this finest of embellishments, to the growth of which the soil and position of Olympia is highly favourable [3]. In the time of Strabo there was a wood of wild olives around the Stadium [4], and we learn from Pausanias that there was a grove of planes in the middle of the sacred inclosure [5].

At present the vale of Olympia in the part adjacent to the hills is level, and carpeted with a fine turf supplying winter pasture to sheep. Near the Alpheius the land, annually fertilized by the in-

[1] Ἡ Ἄλτις was the local or Peloponnesian Æolic form of τὸ ἄλσος.—Τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς παραποιήσαντες τὸ ὄνομα, Ἄλτιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι. Pausan. El. pr. 10, 1.

[2] Ἄλση τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα κἂν ψιλά. Strabo, p. 412.

[3] Πίσας εὐδενδρον ἐπ' Ἀλφεῷ ἄλσος. Pindar, Ol. 8, 12.

[4] Strabo, p. 353.

[5] Pausan. El. pr. 27, 7. (11.)

undations of winter, affords a good soil for the growth of maize or other productions sown in the spring. The *Cladeus*, which bounds the site of *Olympia* on the west, has its origin at Lala in Mount *Pholoë*, from whence it turns west and then south, arriving at Olympia through a narrow valley, which, at the foot of Mount Cronius, is blended with that of Olympia. The Alpheius pursues its winding course in a westerly direction for two miles beyond the junction of the Cladeus, and at the end of that distance, being met by heights on its left bank, turns suddenly to the north. Immediately below Olympia the ridges, which are a continuation of Cronius, interrupted only by the vale of the Cladeus, leave a valley between them and the Alpheius, which in some places is wider than that of Olympia, rather more uneven, and more overgrown with shrubs. The heights also resemble those which rise from the site of Olympia, and are in like manner enlivened with the pine, ilex, and other evergreens, among which I failed to observe the wild olive.

The Alpheius in winter is full, rapid, and turbid; in summer scanty, and divided into several torrents flowing between islands or sand-banks over a wide gravelly bed. Opposite to Olympia, on the southern side of the river, rises a range of heights, higher than the Cronian ridge, in some parts separated from the river by a narrow level, in others falling to the river's bank. Among these hills is observed a bare summit, terminating towards Olympia in a lofty precipitous ridge, distant about half a mile from the river. This is the ancient Typæus, which was held out as an object of terror to prevent women from

frequenting the exhibitions of Olympia, or even from crossing the river on forbidden days, there having been a law, which however was never executed, condemning women who had so transgressed to be thrown over the precipice. Pausanias describes Typæus as having been near the road from Scillus to Olympia, not far from the ford of the Alpheius[1]. With the exception of this summit the mountains to the left of the river are clothed and diversified like those on the opposite side, and complete the sylvan beauties of the vale of Olympia. Above them, in the direction of S.S.E., and distant five geographical miles in a direct line, the peaked summit of Smerna forms a conspicuous object from Olympia, and was the site perhaps of the ancient Æpy.

In one of the valleys, opposite to Olympia, stood Scillus, the residence of Xenophon. There are no remains existing to identify the place, but the position can scarcely be questioned, as twenty stades (2½ miles) is stated by Xenophon himself to be the distance from Scillus to the Altis, and there is but one river in this vicinity that can answer to his Sellenus or Selinus[2], as abounding in fish and shell-fish (ἰχθύες

[1] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ὁδὸν πρὶν ἢ διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀλφειὸν, ἐστὶν ὄρος ἐκ Σκιλλοῦντος ἐρχομένῳ πέτραις ὑψηλαῖς ἀπότομον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ Τυπαῖον τὸ ὄρος. Pausan. El. pr. 6, 5. (7.)

[2] Selinus was the name of a river which flowed by the temple of Diana at Ephesus. As Xenophon employed a part of his share of prize-money, acquired in the Asiatic expedition of the Ten Thousand, in the erection of a temple of Diana at Scillus in humble imitation of the great Ephesian edifice, it is not unlikely that the name attached to the river of Scillus dates only from that time. Xenophon endowed his temple with a tenth of the annual produce of the estate at Scillus, which the Lacedæmonians had

καὶ κόγχαι), namely, that of which the mouth is opposite to the extremity of the western prolongation of the vale of Olympia. This stream collects the waters from the surrounding ridges, and has its origin in the mountain of Smerna, whereas all the other affluents of the *Alpheius* on the bank opposite to *Olympia* originate in the nearest heights.

Olympia was visited by Dr. Chandler in the year 1766, by Fauvel and the late Mr. John Hawkins of Bignor between forty and fifty years ago, by myself in 1805, by Gell and Dodwell in the following year, by Mr. Cockerell in the year 1811. All these persons observed remains of the temple of Jupiter, and recognised them as such[1], judging from the agreement between the apparent magnitude of the foundations and the dimensions of the temple given by Pausanias, as well as from the proportions of some fragments of the peristyle. Wilkins, in his 'Antiquities of Magna Græcia,' employs the measure-

bestowed upon him. By means of this tenth, the repairs, the service, and the festivals of the goddess were provided for; and the last of these offices was assisted by the produce of the chace on Mount Pholoë or in the Scilluntia, where Xenophon, his sons, and other citizens of Scillus, hunted the wild boar, the deer, and the roe. When Pausanias visited Scillus, between five and six centuries afterwards, the temple of Diana still remained, and a monument of Xenophon bearing his statue in Pentelic marble.

[1] Pouqueville supposed the ruins to be those of the Heræum; but he adds, that on Fauvel's plan of Olympia, with which he had been furnished by Fauvel himself, they were marked as those of Jupiter. Chandler does not expressly state his opinion on the question; but as he describes the ruins as those of a *very large* temple of the Doric order, he could scarcely have thought otherwise.

ments of Gell to prove the temple to have been a hexastyle, and otherwise in agreement with the description which Pausanias has left us of the temple of Jupiter[1].

It is difficult, therefore, to understand how the authors of the 'Expédition Scientifique de la Morée,' came to the conclusion that nothing more had been ascertained at the time of their *visit* to Olympia in 1829 or 1830, than "the existence of a temple in this place[2];" or how they could assert in their work, which was published in the course of 1831 and the following seven years, that all beyond that fact was mere conjecture until the time of their excavation. Dodwell, in his 'Travels,' published in 1819, had described fragments of columns and of a pavement of black marble, which he found among the ruins, and which he thought quite sufficient to identify the temple; and in 1830 my 'Travels in the Morea' were *published*, in which are the following remarks:—

"About 200 yards southward of the tumulus, I arrived at the foundations of a temple, which has been excavated by the Agas of Lalla for the sake of the materials, almost all of which have been carried away to Lalla or Miráka. The foundation-stones are large quadrangular masses of a friable limestone composed of an aggregate of shells: it is the same kind of rock of which all the neighbouring mountains are formed, the ἐπιχώριος πῶρος of Pausanias. The blocks are put together in the best Greek style. Among these foundations are some pieces of

[1] Antiq. of Magna Græcia, p. 172.

[2] Exp. Scient. i. p. 61.

fluted Doric columns of white marble, and a single fragment of a Doric shaft of *poros*, of such an enormous size as to leave little doubt that these poor remains are those of the celebrated temple of Jupiter. The only measurable dimension of the great column is the chord of the fluting, which exceeds a foot, and, according to the usual number of flutings in the Doric order, would require a shaft of at least seven feet in diameter. It may be inferred from this fact, that the temple was a hexastyle; for Pausanias informs us that it was 95 Greek feet broad, and 230 long, or very nearly of the same size as the Parthenon; whereas had it been an octostyle with such columns, its length and breadth must have been much greater. The same inference may be drawn from the temple having been 68 feet high, or $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet higher than the Parthenon; for the columns, being larger, would, with the usual Doric proportions, be higher also than those of the Parthenon.—(*Note.*) Mr. Cockerell has since discovered sufficient traces of the peristyle, cella, and opisthodomus to enable him to prove, not only that the temple was a hexastyle, but that it faced the east, and that the length, breadth, and height mentioned by Pausanias are nearly correct. The length and breadth are, indeed, rather less than Pausanias has given; but this may be accounted for by the supposition that Pausanias took his measurement not on the upper stylobate but on an exterior foundation."

The truth of these remarks was amply confirmed by the excavations made by the French commission in 1829 or 1830. They cleared a great part of the stylobate, obtained an exact measurement of it, dis-

covered the lowest portions of thirteen columns in their places, and would probably have found more if they had completed their excavation: they brought to light, also, some remains of the metopes of the pronaus and posticum, and had the satisfaction of observing that they are in exact conformity with the description of Pausanias.

The Altis was surrounded, in part at least, by a wall, but it was probably a mere peribolus, and offered little or no means of military defence. When the Arcadians occupied Olympia, a little before the celebration of the 104th Olympiad, they found themselves under the necessity of fortifying Mount Cronius, or at least of surrounding the sanctuary on the summit of that hill with a palisade, and afterwards of adding further to its defences.

Again, the wall of the Altis offered no impediment to the advance of the Eleians when they interrupted the celebration of the Games of the same Olympiad; nor exempted the Arcadians, on that occasion, from the necessity of fortifying their position in the Altis when the enemy had retired [1].

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. 7, 4, § 14. 28. 32. Diodorus therefore (15, 77,) is inaccurate in describing Cronium as a fortress, and in classing it as such with Coryphasium, Cyparissia, and Marganeæ, all which he says were taken by the Arcadians on the prior of the two occasions above-mentioned. He seems also to have mistaken Pylus of Coryphasium for Pylus of Eleia, which, according to Xenophon, was the only place taken by the Arcadians besides Marganeæ. Xenophon, in relating the first occupation of Mount Cronius, says, περισταυρώσαντες τὸν (τὸ?) Κρόνειον ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν καὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ὄρους. These words have induced some geographers to look for a Mount Olympius distinct from Cronius, and one of them (Mannert) has

Accordingly, no remains of the sacred inclosure are now to be observed; though possibly its foundations may hereafter be found beneath the present surface. The situation, however, of the wall of the Altis on the northern and eastern sides may be deduced from the narrative of Pausanias with a great approach to certainty; and equally so its three principal entrances, namely, 1. that called the Pompic, ἡ Πομπικὴ εἴσοδος; 2. that which was near the Gymnasium and the Prytaneium; 3. that which formed the entrance of the Stadium, and which was probably the end of the Pompic Way through the Altis.

The description of Olympia by Pausanias occupies five-sixths of his two books entitled 'The Prior and Posterior Eliacs,' and one-sixth of his whole work. As at the other places in Greece which were most fruitful in the objects of his inquiries, it is from his incidental remarks on the relative situations of the monuments, that we chiefly derive an elucidation of the topography of Olympia. His description might perhaps be divided into,—1. the Buildings; 2. the Altars; 3. the Statues of Jupiter; 4. the Statues of Athletæ; 5. the Stadium and Hippodrome. But although this arrangement would in some degree accord with the order of his narrative, it would leave many exceptions to that order while it would contribute little to the principal object of these remarks,

even placed it to the left of the Alpheius (see Boblaye, Recherches Géographiques sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 128); but there can be little doubt that the Olympian hill alluded to by Xenophon was Cronius itself. Possibly by Κρόνειον is to be understood, not the λόφος but the ἱερὸν on the summit, and that τὸ not τὸν was the word employed by Xenophon.

that of sifting and comparing the dispersed topographical evidences. I shall first, therefore, extract the description which Pausanias has given of the several buildings, with such notice of their relative situations as he has afforded, and then endeavour to elicit, in following the order of his narrative, such other topographical information as the remaining parts of his description of the monuments of Olympia may afford.

I. *The Buildings of Olympia.*

I. The Olympieium, Olympium, or temple of Jupiter Olympius. This temple was built from the spoils of Pisa and the other cities taken by the Eleians in the war against Elis, conducted by Pyrrhus, king of Pisa, in the 52nd Olympiad (B. C. 572). The architect was Libon of Elis[1]. It was not until more than a century after its construction that the Aëti of the temple were decorated with the statues which remained in them during six centuries, and we know not how much longer; for these statues, as well as the statue of Jupiter in the cella, were works of Pæonius, Alcamenes, and Phidias, artists who flourished not until the middle of the fifth century B.C. At one time the temple contained great riches in gold, silver, and precious dedications[2]; but

[1] Pausan. El. pr. 10, 2. El. post. 22, 2. (4.)

[2] Δείκνυνται δὲ καὶ γραφαὶ πολλαί τε καὶ θαυμασταὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, ἐκείνου (Pantæni *sc.*) ἔργα. Strabo, p. 354. No paintings are mentioned by Pausanias, except those on the throne. The others were probably tabular and not mural, and may have been carried away by Romans after the time of Strabo.

when Pausanias saw it there seems to have been nothing of much value, besides the great work of Phidias, which still remained intact, unless some of the solid gold which formed a part of the statue had been removed without injuring its outward appearance, which seems not unlikely.

The Olympium was a peripteral Doric building, formed of the native limestone, which is still called poros, and to which, in all the more finished parts of the temple, a surface of stucco had been given. The temple had six fluted columns of 7ft. 4in. in diameter in the fronts, and thirteen on the sides. Its length was 230 Greek feet, the breadth 95, the height to the summit of the pediment 68. The roof was covered with slabs of Pentelic marble in the form of tiles. At each end of the pediment stood a gilded vase, and on the apex a gilded statue of Victory, below which there was a golden shield inscribed with an epigram showing that it had been dedicated by the Lacedæmonians for their victory over the Athenians and their allies at Tanagra[1], B. C. 457. As a hexastyle, the Olympium resembled the temple of Theseus; but in its magnitude and general dimensions, in its cella and interior columns, in its chryselephantine statue of the deity, and in the sculptures of its aëti, it resembled the Parthenon. It differed from the Theseium, inasmuch as there were no iconically sculptured metopes on any part of the exterior order, and inasmuch as the interior frieze of the pronaus and posticum consisted not of a single tablet of figures in relief, which the

[1] Pausan. El. pr. 10, 2. (4.)

smaller dimensions of the Theseium admitted, but was divided by triglyphs into metopes, which represented twelve of the actions of Hercules.

In the eastern pediment there was a central image of Jupiter, having on his right Œnomaus, on his left Pelops, prepared to contend in the race of the quadriga; the other figures on either side consisted of their wives, charioteers, chariots, horses, and grooms; in the two angles were the rivers, Cladeus to the right of the God, Alpheius to his left. Except in its central figure, there seems to have been a general resemblance between this composition and that in the western front of the Parthenon. In the western aëtus at Olympia was represented the contest of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. Peirithous occupied the centre; on one side was Eurytion who had carried off[1] the wife of Peirithous, and Cæneus his defender. Theseus was attacking a Centaur with a hatchet[2]; and two other centaurs were bearing off a young woman and a boy. Alcamenes, the artist, had chosen this subject, because, according to Homer, Peirithous was the son of Jupiter, and Theseus was the descendant of Pelops in the fourth generation.

On the metopes over the door at the eastern end[3], Hercules was represented, 1. contending with the Erymanthian boar; 2. with Diomedes, king of Thrace; 3. with Geryon, king of Erytheia; 4. relieving Atlas of his burden; 5. cleansing the land of Elis. Over the door of the Opisthodomus[4] he was, 1. carrying off the Amazonian shield; 2. subduing the doe of Cerynea;

[1] ἡρπακὼς, Pausan. El. pr. 10, 2 (8).
[2] πελέκει.
[3] ὑπὲρ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν θυρῶν, (9.)
[4] ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τῶν θυρῶν.

3. the bull of Cnossus; 4. destroying the Stymphalian birds with arrows; 5. contending with the hydra of Lerne; and 6. with the lion of the Argeia. As Pausanias has specified the subjects of no more than five of the metopes of the eastern end of the cella, and has described the whole as representing the *greater part* of the labours of Hercules[1], there is reason to believe that the sixth metope of the eastern front related to some action which was not among his twelve labours commonly so called[2].

It seems evident from the words of Pausanias, that the cella of the temple of Jupiter, like that of the Parthenon, consisted of two chambers, of which the eastern contained the statue, and the western was called the Opisthodomus; that the door of the latter was in its western side; and that Pausanias considered the posticum or vestibule, supported by two columns, which was before the door of this chamber, a part of the Opisthodomus; for the twelve metopes,

[1] τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων.

[2] The excavations made by the French Commission of Architecture have led to the discovery of remains of seven of the twelve metopes. Of these, three were found at the eastern, and four at the western end of the temple, and in both instances they represented the *labours* which Pausanias has assigned respectively to the pronaus and opisthodomus; thus confirming, had any confirmation been necessary, the eastern facing of the temple. Among the fragments of the metopes of the pronaus, was one which represented Minerva seated on a rock, and presenting a branch (probably of olive, as an olive-leaf of gilded copper was found near it) to some figure which has been lost. M. Raoul-Rochette has suggested with great probability that this sixth metope, not described by Pausanias, represented Hercules receiving from Minerva the olive-branch destined to be the callistephanus.

as already hinted, were not immediately over the door of the cella, but over the entrances into the pronaus and posticum.

In its interior construction the temple resembled the Parthenon: it resembled also the larger hexastyle temple at Pæstum, and, according to Vitruvius, hypæthral temples in general. The approach to the statue was between a double row of columns; upon these stood an upper colonnade of smaller dimensions, which supported the roof[1]. The statue of Jupiter was made of ivory and gold, and was crowned with olive. He held a Victory of ivory and gold in the right hand, and in the left a sceptre studded with metallic ornaments, and surmounted by an eagle. The Victory held a brow-band[2], and had a wreath[3] on the head. The drapery and san-

[1] Ἑστήκασι δὲ καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες· καὶ στοαί τε ἔνδον ὑπερῷοι, καὶ πρόοδος δι' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστι· πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν ὄροφον σκολιά. Pausan. El. pr. 10, 3 (10). The translation of Amasæus, which has been followed in its sense by other editors and translators, is as follows:—Erectæ sunt in templi parte interiori columnæ, quæ sublimes à terrâ sustinent porticus per quas ad Jovis signum aditus patet. But this could not have been the meaning of Pausanias. The statue reached from the floor nearly to the roof, and the upper portico could only have led to the upper part of the back of the statue. The πρόοδος (πρόσοδος? Bekker), or approach to the statue, was evidently below, between the great columns. Had Pausanias intended the upper *portico*, he would have employed the words δι' ὧν or διὰ τούτων, not δι' αὐτῶν. The ἄνοδος σκολιὰ, or winding-stairs, which ascended to the roof, probably communicated midway by a door with the upper portico, and, if we may judge from other examples, was on one side of the front door of the cella.

[2] ταινίαν, El. pr. 11, 1. The form of this *bandeau* of Victory is known exactly from coins and vases. It had two long ribbons suspended from it.

[3] στέφανον.

dals of Jupiter were of gold, and the former was adorned with figures and flowers. The throne was made of ivory and gold, and was resplendent with gold and precious stones, and with paintings and sculptures: four Victories, in the attitude of dancers, were attached to the four legs of the throne, and at the foot of each leg were two other Victories [1]. On each of the anterior legs was a boy carried away by a Theban Sphinx, and above the Sphinges were the children of Niobe slain by the arrows of Apollo and Diana. Four transverse pieces united the four legs: on that which fronted the entrance of the temple were seven figures; an eighth had disappeared: They represented agonistic combats, such as occurred in ancient times [2]. On the other cross-pieces were twenty-nine figures, representing Hercules and his companions, among whom was Theseus, fighting against the Amazons. Between the legs of the throne were four columns, which, as well as the legs, supported the throne. The lower basis of the throne was enclosed on all sides, so that there was no access to the space below the throne, as there was at Amyclæ. The wall of the basis fronting the entrance of the temple was painted blue. On the three other walls were figures painted by Panænus, nephew of Phidias. The subjects were, —Hercules about to relieve Atlas from his burden of the Heavens and Earth; Theseus and Peirithous;

[1] Νῖκαι μὲν δὴ τέσσαρες, χορευουσῶν παρεχόμεναι σχῆμα, κατὰ ἕκαστον τοῦ θρόνου τὸν πόδα· δύο δέ εἰσιν ἄλλαι πρὸς ἑκάστου πέζῃ ποδός. Pausan. El. pr. 11, 2. On this disputed passage, see Quatremère, Le Jupiter Olympien, p. 285.

[2] ἀγωνισμάτων ἀρχαίων μιμήματα, (3.)

Hellas and Salamis, the latter bearing in her hand the ornament of a ship's head (acrostolium); Hercules and the Nemean lion; the attempt of Ajax on Cassandra; Hippodameia, daughter of Œnomaus, and her mother; Hercules about to deliver Prometheus from his chains, after having slain the eagle; the dying Penthesileia supported by Achilles; two Hesperides bearing apples. On the upper part of the throne, above the head of the statue, were three Graces and three Hours, daughters of Jupiter. On the *θράνιον*, or stool under the feet of the god, were golden lions, and the battle of Theseus with the Amazons. The pedestal upon which stood the statue and throne (and which was between them and the lower basis) was adorned with the following representations in gold[1], the Sun in his car,—Jupiter, Juno, and Charis,—Mercury followed by Vesta,—Love receiving Venus as she emerges from the sea, and Peitho crowning her,—Apollo and Diana, Minerva and Hercules; and at the extremity of the pedestal, Amphitrite and Neptune,—and the Moon, riding on a horse. A covered brazen vase[2] on the pavement marked the spot where the lightning fell, sent by Jupiter in approbation of the work of Phidias. The pavement before the statue was of black marble, surmounted with a border[3] of Parian marble for the purpose of confining the oil which was poured within it, and which served to protect the ivory of the statue from the effects of the damp air of the Altis. At Athens, the Parthenon being in

[1] *χρυσᾶ ποιήματα*, Pausan. El. pr. 11, 3 (8).
[2] *ὑδρία καὶ ἐπίθημα*, 4 (9).
[3] *κρηπὶς*, 5 (10).

a lofty and dry situation, water was similarly employed to prevent the ivory of the statue of Minerva from receiving injury. At Epidaurus, the statue and throne of Æsculapius were said to have been placed upon a well. The woollen curtain[1] before the statue of Jupiter, adorned with Assyrian embroidery, was not drawn up to the roof, like that of the Ephesian Diana, but was let down to the pavement by relaxing the cordage.

In the pronaus of the temple were the throne of Arimnus, a king of the Tyrrhenians, the first among barbarians who sent an offering to Olympian Jove, —in entering the pronaus, to the right were brazen horses, below the natural size, dedicated by Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus, king of Sparta,— and a brazen tripod on which the crowns of Olympic victors were placed, before the table in the temple of Juno was made for this purpose[2]. Among the statues of Roman emperors in the Olympium, were those of Hadrian in Parian marble, erected by the Achaian cities,—of Trajan, dedicated by all the Greeks,—and that of Augustus, made of amber found among the sands of the river Eridanus. Here also was a statue of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, the first of that name, and which, like that of Augustus, was inclosed in a circular construction[3]. In the temple were three garlands (of gold?), made in imitation of the wild olive, and a fourth in imitation of oak, the gifts of Nero. Here were likewise twenty-

[1] παραπέτασμα, Pausan. El. pr. 12, 2 (4).

[2] El. pr. 12, 3 (5); 20, 1.

[3] κατασκευάσμασι τοῖς περιφερέσιν ἐγκείμεναι, El. pr. 12, 5 (7).

five brazen bucklers, borne by those who ran in the armed foot-race; and several pillars, among which was one bearing the contract of alliance [1] for one hundred years between the Athenians, Argives, and Mantinenses [2]. The temple contained also altars of Vesta, Jupiter, and some others.

II. The Heræum, or temple of Juno. This temple, like that of Jupiter, was a peripteral of the Doric order. In the time of Pausanias one of the columns of the opisthodomus was of wood, having probably been so formed as a memorial of the wooden construction of the original temple, which, according to the information received by Pausanias from the Eleians, was built about eight years after the accession of Oxylus to the throne of Elis, consequently in the eleventh century B.C. Of the temple extant in the time of Pausanias neither the age nor the architect were known; nor are we certain of its dimensions, for the length attributed to it by Pausanias, 63 feet [3], is too small for any peripteral building, and would require a cella too confined

[1] *συμμαχία*, Pausan. El. pr. 12, 7 (8).

[2] Of this treaty, which was made in the year B. C. 420, Thucydides (5, 47) has given the words. By one of the articles, it was to be engraved on a brazen pillar at Olympia. In the British Museum, a brazen plate, found at Olympia, bears a similar treaty of alliance for one hundred years (*συνμαχία ἑκατὸν ἔτεα*), but of much earlier date, between the people of Elis and Heræa. Holes at the two upper angles for receiving pegs, show that it had been suspended, probably in the temple of Jupiter.

[3] *Ἐργασία μὲν δή ἐστι τοῦ ναοῦ Δώριος· κίονες δὲ περὶ πάντα ἑστήκασιν αὐτόν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ δρύος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν κιόνων ἐστί. μῆκος δέ εἰσι τοῦ ναοῦ πόδες τρεῖς καὶ ἑξήκοντα, οὐκ ἀποδεῖ.* El. pr. 16, 1.

for the numerous statues and other objects which it contained. Perhaps, by some error in the text of Pausanias, 63 feet has been given as the length instead of the breadth; or possibly Pausanias may have written τρεῖς καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, and the two last words may have been lost; errors of omission being common in the often corrupt text of Pausanias. Either of these suppositions would produce a temple larger than the Theseium in the proportion of three to two, and about equal in size to the temple of Nemea.

The Heræum of Olympia contained a seated statue of the goddess, beside which Jupiter was standing, bearded and covered with a helmet[1]. These were of a simple style of sculpture[2]. Then were seen the Horæ seated on chairs[3], by Smilis or Smilus of Ægina, and a standing figure of their mother Themis, by Dorycleidas. Also the five Hesperides, by Theocles, which had been removed hither from one of the treasuries at the foot of Mount Cronius[4]. Dorycleidas and Theocles were Lacedæmonians, and disciples of Dipœnus and Scyllis. A Minerva, armed with helmet[5], spear, and shield, was said to have been the work of Medon, brother of Dorycleidas. Here also were Ceres and Proserpine opposite to each other, seated; Apollo and Diana in a similar position, standing; Latona, Fortune, Bacchus, and Victory with wings. The makers of these works were unknown; but they appeared to Pausanias to have been very an-

[1] κυνῆν, Pausan. El. pr. 17, 1. [2] ἔργα ἁπλᾶ.
[3] καθημένας ἐπὶ θρόνων. [4] See below, p. 41. [5] κράνος.

cient [1]. They were all made of ivory and gold. It is remarkable that Pausanias found in the Heræum of Olympia a greater number of ancient chryselephantine statues than in all the rest of Greece; and that the latest of them in date were of the sixth century B. C. But this latter circumstance is no longer surprising when we consider that the toreutic branch of art was developed before the plastic; that statues in ivory, ebony, and certain kinds of wood immediately succeeded rude stones as images of the deities; and that the great discovery in plastic by the Samians, Theodorus and Rhœcus, namely, that of casting brazen statues from a model and mould in clay, did not occur earlier than the eighth century B. C. Smilis or Smilus of Ægina, who made the Horæ in the Heræum, was supposed to be a contemporary of Theodorus and Rhœcus [2]; and the Juno and Jupiter, described by Pausanias as ἔργα ἁπλᾶ, were probably still more ancient. These, we may presume, were the original idols of the temple, and coeval with it; the others were subsequent dedications; and some of them perhaps had stood in the old temple of Jupiter, and had been removed from thence when the new temple was commenced. This is rendered more probable by the circumstance that, besides the chryselephantine statues above-mentioned, there were two others of the same materials, made by Leochares; one represented Eurydice, daughter (or

[1] φαίνεται δὲ εἶναί μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖα, Pausan. El. pr. 17, 1 (3).

[2] Plin. 35, 13 (19). An earlier Smilis of Ægina was a contemporary of Dædalus, and wrought only in wood. Pausan. Achaic. 4, 4. Sillig, Catal. Artif. p. 421, 439.

wife) of Philip, son of Amyntas; the other, Olympias. These statues had been removed into the Heræum from the Philippeium [1].

There were also in the Heræum, a Mercury in marble bearing an infant Bacchus, the work of Praxiteles,—a Venus in bronze by Cleon of Sicyon, —and a naked child of gilded ivory sitting before her, the work of Boëthus of Carthage. Two other remarkable monuments in the Heræum were, 1. the *τράπεζα*, or four-legged table, on which were placed the garlands prepared for the victors in the Olympic contests, formerly placed on a tripod in the temple of Jupiter [2]; 2. the chest of Cypselus. The table was the work of Colotes, who was said to have assisted Phidias in making the Olympian Jupiter [3], and, like that work, it was of ivory and gold. Tables for depositing offerings were common in the temples both of Greece and Egypt, and *τράπεζαι στεφανηφόροι* are represented on numerous coins commemorative of agonistic contests [4]. Pausanias, in noticing the several works in relief which adorned the four sides

[1] *Παιδίον ἐπίχρυσον κάθηται γυμνὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης· Βοηθὸς δὲ ἐτόρευσεν αὐτὸ Καρχηδόνιος· μετεκομίσθη δὲ αὐτόσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου Φιλιππείου, χρυσοῦ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Εὐρυδίκη τε ἡ Φιλίππου (καὶ Ὀλυμπίας).* El. pr. 17, 1 (4). The two last words are supplied from the end of ch. 20, where the chryselephantine statues of the Philippeium are described, *κεῖνται δὲ αὐτόθι Φίλιππός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀμύντας ὁ Φιλίππου πατήρ· ἔργα δ' ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα Λεωχάρους, ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, καθὰ καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης εἰσὶν εἰκόνες.*

[2] El. pr. 20, 1. See above, p. 22.

[3] See also Pliny, H. N. 35, 8 (34).

[4] One of them is represented in relief on a marble *θρόνος* at Athens. Engraved in Stuart's Athens, iii. p. 19.

of a broad rim or face immediately below the tabular part of the trapeza, describes the second face as ὄπισθεν, whence we may infer that the first presented itself to the spectator in advancing towards the statue of the goddess. On this front rim were represented Juno, Jupiter, the Mother of the Gods, Mercury, Apollo, and Diana; on the second, at the back of the table, the Olympic Games were described[1]. Probably this was a representation, by separate groups, of the several kinds of contest, in the manner often seen on vases and *rilievi*. On one of the other sides of the table were Æsculapius, Hygieia, Mars, and beside him combatants[2]; on the fourth side were Pluto, Bacchus, Proserpine, and two Nymphs, one bearing a globe, and the other the key of the infernal regions. In the Heræum were also deposited a small couch[3], formed chiefly of ivory, and said to have been a plaything of Hippodameia; and the quoit[4] of Iphitus, on which was written in a circular form the suspension of arms proclaimed by the Eleians at the time of the Olympic contest.

2. The chest[5] of Cypselus was made of the wood κέδρος[6], and was covered with figures[7] in relief, some of which were of gold, others of ivory, and others of the same material as the chest. The subjects of these representations were explained by

[1] ἡ διάθεσις τοῦ ἀγῶνος, Pausan. El. pr. 20, 1 (2).

[2] Ἄρης καὶ ἀγὼν παρ' αὐτὸν, (3.)

[3] κλίνη μέγεθος οὐ μεγάλη, 1.

[4] δίσκος. [5] λάρναξ or κυψέλη, El. pr. 17, 2 (5).

[6] Probably the larger kind of Juniper, which is still called κέδρος.

[7] ζῳδία.

inscriptions. The chest had been dedicated by some of the Κυψελίδαι or family of Cypselus, (by himself, according to Dion Chrysostom [1],) and was said to have been the identical piece of furniture in which Cypselus, when an infant, had been concealed by his mother, to save his life from the cruel intentions of the Bacchiadæ [2]. The description of this chest by Pausanias has exercised the talents of some eminent archæologists, particularly M. Quatremère de Quincy, who has illustrated that description by conjectural drawings [3]. I shall confine myself, therefore, to a mere enumeration of the subjects represented on the chest; a statement not without some use, as it is by collecting and comparing such descriptions with the paintings or sculptures extant on works of ancient art, that the best means of explaining these monuments are obtained. Pausanias describes five sides of the chest. If we suppose him, therefore, to have commenced with one of the longer sides, the fifth or uppermost side [4] could have been no other than the lid; which, as he does not describe the form of it, would seem to have been flat, or slightly raised. He begins from the bottom [5]; whence it would seem that there was more than one line of figures in the height of the box. M. Quatremère supposes three lines. On the first side, as described by Pausanias, were, 1. Œnomaus pursuing Pelops and Hippodameia; both parties were in

[1] See below, p. 35, n. 2.

[2] See Herodot. 5, 92. Pausan. El. pr. 17, 2 (5).

[3] Le Jupiter Olympien, p. 124.

[4] ἡ ἀνωτάτω χώρα, El. pr. 19, 2 (7).

[5] ἀρχαμένῳ δὲ ἀνασκοπεῖσθαι κάτωθεν, El. pr. 17, 4 (6).

bigæ, and the horses of Pelops were winged. 2. The house of Amphiaraus: an old woman bore the young Amphilochus in her arms; the young Alcmæon was naked; Eriphyle, having her daughters Eurydice and Demonassa beside her, held a necklace [1]. Baton, the charioteer of Amphiaraus, held the reins of his horses in one hand, and his lance [2] in the other; Amphiaraus had one foot in the car, and threatened with his drawn sword his wife Eriphyle. 3. The funereal games of Pelias: Hercules was seated on a chair [3]; around him were spectators, and behind him a woman playing on Phrygian flutes. The Argonautæ Pisus, Asterion, Pollux, Admetus, and Euphemus were contending in the race of the two-horsed chariot [4]; Euphemus was victor. Admetus and Mopsus were contending in boxing; in the midst was a flute-player. Jason and Peleus were wrestling. Eurybotas was throwing the quoit [5]. Melanion, Neotheus, Phalareus, Argeius, and Iphiclus were contending in the foot-race; Acastus was presenting the crown to Iphiclus the victor. The daughters of Pelias were present, of whom the only one named was Alcestis. Tripods appeared as prizes. Iolaus, the companion of Hercules, had gained the prize in the race of the quadriga [6]. 4. Hercules discharging arrows at the water-serpent of the river Amymone in the presence of Minerva. 5. Phineus, king of Thrace, (afflicted with blindness,) and the sons of Boreas driving away the Harpies who tormented him. Pausanias then describes that shorter side of the

[1] ὅρμον, (7.) [2] λόγχην, (8.) [3] θρόνῳ, (9.)
[4] συνωρίδι. [5] δίσκον, (10.) [6] ἵππων ἅρματι, (11.)

chest which was adjacent on the left to the long side already described by him. The subjects were: 1. Night, bearing Sleep and Death as two sleeping children with deformed feet[1]; Sleep was painted white, and Death black. 2. Justice, as a beautiful woman, was striking with a rod[2], and seizing by the throat, Injustice under the figure of a woman of disagreeable aspect. 3. Two women were pounding in a mortar; there was no inscription annexed to them, but they were supposed to represent magicians. 4. Marpessa following Idas from the temple of Apollo. 5. Alcmena receiving a cup[3] and a necklace[4] from Jupiter in the form of Amphitryon. 6. Menelaus, after the capture of Troy, pursuing Helene, sword in hand, as if to kill her. 7. The marriage of Jason and Medeia: Medeia was seated, Jason standing on her right, Venus on her left. 8. Apollo singing, accompanied by the Muses. 9. Atlas bearing the globe on his shoulders, and holding the apples of the Hesperides in his hand; Hercules advancing against him, sword in hand, to obtain the apples. 10. Mars in armour, termed Enyalius in the inscription, leading away Venus. 11. Peleus leading away Thetis, from whose hand issued a serpent against Peleus. 12. The winged sisters of Medusa pursuing Perseus, having also wings. The third side of the chest, or second long side, represented two bands of warriors, some in bigæ, but the greater part on foot, who, on the point of engaging, recognise each other as friends. Opinions differed as to the subject. Pausanias supposed it to be the reconciliation of Melas of Gonussa,

[1] διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας, Pausan. El. pr. 18, 1.
[2] ῥάβδῳ, (2.) [3] κύλικα, (3.) [4] ὅρμον.

ancestor of Cypselus, with Aletes king of Corinth. On the fourth side of the chest, or to the left of the preceding side[1], was, 1. Boreas with serpents' tails instead of legs carrying away Oreithyia. 2. Hercules contending with Geryones, who was represented with a triple body. 3. Theseus holding a lyre, and Ariadne a crown. 4. Achilles and Memnon fighting, Thetis and Aurora, their mothers, standing beside them. 5. Melanion and Atalanta having a fawn beside her. 6. The contest of Ajax and Hector, between whom was seen Discord[2] in the form of a woman of horrid appearance. 7. Helene between the Dioscuri, one of whom was beardless; the captive Æthra in a black dress at the feet of Helene[3]. 8. Iphidamas prostrate and defended by Coon against Agamemnon, the device of whose shield was Terror[4] with the head of a lion. 9. Mercury conducting the Three Goddesses (Juno, Minerva, and Venus) to Alexandrus, son of Priam, for his judgment. 10. Diana winged, leading a panther in her right hand, and a lion in her left. 11. Ajax dragging away Cassandra from the altar of Minerva. 12. Eteocles advancing against Polynices, who was represented kneeling on one knee: behind him was Fate[5] in the form of a woman with the teeth and claws of a wild beast. 13. Bacchus, bearded, clothed in a long garment[6], reclining on a couch, and holding a golden cup in

[1] ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς περιϊόντι, El. pr. 19, 1. [2] Ἔρις, (2.)

[3] Helene, according to Dion Chrysostom, was trampling on the head of Æthra, ἐπιβεβηκυῖα τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Αἴθρας. Orat. xi. p. 163.

[4] Φάβος, (4.) [5] Κῆρ, (6.) [6] χιτῶνα ποδήρη.

his hand, in the midst of vines and trees of apple [1] and pomegranate [2]. The fifth or upper side of the chest was not inscribed, but represented, 1. A man and woman, in a cavern, reclining on a bed, and intended, in the opinion of Pausanias, for Ulysses and Circe, because before the cavern there were four women employed, as Homer has described [3]. 2. Vulcan presenting the arms of Achilles to Thetis, attended by the Nereids, standing in cars drawn by four horses with golden wings. An attendant of Vulcan bore his tongs [4], and on one side stood the centaur Chiron, represented with the fore-feet of a man and the hind-feet of a horse. 3. In a car drawn by mules were two virgins, one veiled, the other holding the reins, supposed to be intended for Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, with an attendant, on their way to the place of washing [5]. 4. Hercules discharging arrows at Centaurs, some of which were lying dead.

Some of the inscriptions which explained the figures on the chest of Cypselus, and gave the names of the persons represented, were written in direct lines; others were in bustrophedon; and others in a writing of which the involutions made them difficult to be understood [6]. It is curious to remark how exactly the figures and explanatory names, as described by Pausanias, agree with some of those on Greek vases still existing, some of the most ancient of which are probably as old as 600 B. C.; and hence the importance of this

[1] *μηλέαι.* [2] *ῥοιαί.*

[3] K. 348. [4] *πυράγραν*, Pausan. El. pr. 19, 2 (9).

[5] *ἐπὶ τοὺς πλυνούς.*

[6] *ἑλιγμοὺς συμβαλέσθαι χαλεποὺς*, 17, 3 (6).

description of the chest to the archæologist. As to the date of the chest, Pausanias states that it had belonged to an ancestor[1] of Cypselus; and he supposes that some of the explanatory verses in bustrophedon, which he has preserved, were composed by the poet Eumelus, one of the Bacchiadæ, who flourished about 750 B.C., or a century before the reign of Cypselus, and of whose works some of the subjects or titles are known to us[2]. It is clear, however, that this opinion of Pausanias was nothing more than an inference from the age and country of Eumelus; for there is nothing in the verses themselves that can have identified the authorship. Instead of having been prior to Cypselus, the chest was more probably made expressly for a memorial and votive-offering by Cypselus himself or his son Periander, who reigned at Corinth from 625 to 585 B.C., during which years the laws of Solon were engraved in bustrophedon on the ἄξονες of the Prytaneium at Athens[3].

[1] πρόγονος, Pausan. El. pr. 18, 2 (7).

[2] Clinton, Fast. Hellen. iii. p. 161. 364. 397.

[3] Topography of Athens, 2nd edit. p. 127, note 6. The original direction of Greek writing from right to left, which never varied in its derivative the Etruscan, was continued also in Greece in monostich inscriptions, or those of a single line, as late or later than 600 B.C.; the modes called κιονηδὸν (columnar) and πλινθηδὸν (plinth-shaped), which were used in the same ages when better adapted to the form or dimensions of the monument upon which the inscription was to be engraved, were no more than modifications of the monostich method of inscribing. Some very ancient examples of the πλινθηδὸν are still extant, (see Tr. in N. Greece, iv. Inscr. 166. Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature, ii. p. 383,) and columnar inscriptions of various ages are not uncommon. When, in the progress of literature and civilization, inscriptions were lengthened, and men began to

M. Quatremère and M. Heyne, in support of their opinion that the chest is to be considered as

engrave them στοιχηδὸν, that is, in more than one line, experience may have taught that it was more easy in writing on brass or stone to continue the word, or portion of the word, which followed the termination of the first line, in the reverse direction of that line, than to separate the same word or portion of the word from its antecedent by the length of a whole line; and hence the βουστροφηδὸν, or mode which resembles ploughing. On the contrary, in writing on skins, or bark, or papyrus, it may have been found more convenient to write all the lines in the same direction, which direction, in regard to Greek characters, is from left to right, just as the opposite direction is the best adapted to the Arabic character. It is probable, that the practice of writing from left to right became general in the course of the sixth century B. C.; though no very precise date can be assigned, because in that early age scarcely any Greek customs were uniform in every part of Greece, and because some ancient forms in writing were occasionally adhered to when generally obsolete. Thus the Eleian tablet consists of ten lines in prose, written from left to right: a pedestal lately discovered at Corcyra has four hexameter verses in a single line from right to left: on the brazen hare of Priene are four lines from right to left: the Sigeian pillar has two inscriptions, each of eleven lines, in bustrophedon, commencing from the left. And yet probably all these documents are not very distant from one another in date; or somewhere about 600 B. C. At Athens we know that bustrophedon was employed in the public records as late as 600 B. C., though it is not unlikely that it had fallen into disuse for ordinary purposes before that time; in the same manner as the four Ionic letters were in common use at Athens before they were introduced into public documents, engraved on marble or bronze. It may not be irrelevant here to remark, that we find three kinds of bustrophedon in extant monuments: 1. That in which the lines were reversed in position as well as in the direction of the letters, and, if written on paper, would require the paper to be turned round. These inscriptions were probably on horizontal surfaces, and were intended to be read as the reader moved round the monument. They are among the most ancient

a work of the time of the Bacchiadæ, allege the absence among its sculptures of all subjects relating to Cypselus or the Cypselidæ. But it was much more conformable to the ancestral pride of the Greeks, in decorating dedications to the gods, to select as the subjects of ornamental sculptures or paintings such as recorded the connexion of the dedicators with the heroes of antiquity, rather than the actions of the reigning monarch or his family. The figures on the chest of Cypselus may all be referred to the descent of Cypselus from Cæneus, king of the Lapithæ, who was a companion of Hercules, and whose son accompanied Jason to Colchis; or to the subsequent descent of Cypselus from Melas, son of Antassus, contemporary of Aletes, the first king of Corinth, and one of the Heracleidæ; or to his connexion with the Bacchiadæ by his mother Labda[1]. The allusions to the Trojan war were common subjects in all similar representations.

We learn from Dion Chrysostom that the chest of Cypselus stood in the opisthodomus of the Heræum[2];

inscriptions in existence. Some examples of them may be seen in the Trans. of the R. Soc. of Literature, I., New Series, p. 305, and in Boeckh, C. Inscr. Gr., Nos. 20, 21, 23. 2. Bustrophedon beginning from the right; these we may suppose to be more ancient than, 3. Bustrophedon beginning from the left; which was probably the latest method before the practice of writing from the left became general. The later laws, in the Prytaneium of Athens, were distinguished as the laws beginning from the left (ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἀρχόμενοι νόμοι, Harpocrat. et Phot. Lex. in ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος). It was probably in the reign of Pisistratus that this method expelled the bustrophedon for ever.

[1] Herodot. 5, 92. Pausanias, Corinth. 4, 4; El. pr. 18, 2 (7).

[2] εἶπον . . . . . ὡς αὐτὸς ἑωρακὼς εἴην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἥρας ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἁρπαγῆς ἐκείνης

whence we may infer that the cella of the Heræum consisted of two apartments; for it is not credible that such a monument of antiquity as the chest should have stood in the posticum, which was exposed on one side to the open air, and as we learn from Pausanias, as well in describing the wooden column of the opisthodomus of the Heræum, as the metopes representing the labours of Hercules in the Olympium, was considered to be a part of the opisthodomus.

III. The great altar of Jupiter which stood between the Pelopium and the temple of Juno, at about equal distances from them[1]. It had two platforms: the lower, called the prothysis, was a square of 32 feet 3 inches, having an ascent to it on every side by steps of stone: the upper altar was a square of eight feet, and had steps to it, which, as well as all the upper structure, were made of the cinders of the thighs of the victims sacrificed on this and other altars. The animals were slaughtered on the prothysis, and the thighs were burnt above. The total height of the altar was 22 feet; on comparing which with the other proportions, it would seem that there were about eighteen steps to the prothysis, and three from thence to the upper altar; and that the whole structure covered a square of 70 or 80 feet[2].

(Helenes et Æthræ, sc.) ἐν τῇ ξυλίνῃ κιβωτῷ ἀνατιθείσῃ ὑπὸ Κυψέλου. Dion Chryst. Orat. xi. p. 163.

[1] Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου βωμὸς ἴσον μὲν μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀπέχων, προκείμενος μέντοι καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων. Pausan. El. pr. 13, 5 (8).

[2] Τοῦ βωμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρηπῖδος μὲν τῆς πρώτης, προ-

IV. The Metroum, or temple of the Mother of the Gods. This was a large Doric building[1], but it contained no image of the deity from whom its name was derived; nor any thing but some upright statues of Roman emperors.

V. The temple of Lucina Olympia[2] contained an

θύσεως καλουμένης, πόδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἐστι περίοδος· τοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ προθύσει περίμετρος ἑκάστου (qu. σκευαστοῦ?) πόδες δύο καὶ τριάκοντα· τὸ δὲ ὕψος τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ σύμπαν ἐς δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνήκει πόδας· αὐτὰ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν μέρει τῷ κάτω, τῇ προθύσει, καθέστηκεν αὐτοῖς θύειν· τοὺς μηροὺς δὲ ἀναφέροντες ἐς τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ ὑψηλότατον καθαγίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα· ἀναβαθμοὶ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὴν πρόθυσιν ἄγουσιν ἐξ ἑκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς, λίθου πεποιημένοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προθύσεως ἐς τὸ ἄνω τοῦ βωμοῦ τέφρας παρέχεται ἀναβαθμούς. Pausan. El. pr. 13, 5 (9). Pausanias has not stated whether the altar was round or square: the words περίοδος, περίμετρος would suit either form; but ἐξ ἑκατέρας τῆς πλευρᾶς can scarcely be applicable to any other than a quadrangular construction. Nor does he mention the number of steps from the base to the prothysis, or those from the prothysis to the upper platform; but the latter could hardly have exceeded three in number, so as to leave (allowing a foot for the breadth, and half a foot for the height of each step,) a breadth to the upper platform and prothysis sufficient for their purposes: there would then remain 40 steps for the ascent from the base to the prothysis, and the base would have been a square of 72 feet.

The great altar at Syracuse, though quadrangular, was not a square, as appears by the recent discoveries of the Palermitan Commission of Architecture. It was a very disproportioned oblong; the length being 640 feet, and the breadth no more than 60. Diodorus describes it as a stade in length: ὁ πλησίον τοῦ θεάτρου βωμὸς τὸ μὲν μῆκος ὢν σταδίου, τὸ δ' ὕψος καὶ πλάτος ἔχων τούτῳ κατὰ λόγον. Diodor. 16, 83. The apparent excess of the modern measurement may be accounted for by the materials having given way on all sides.

[1] ναὸν μεγέθει μέγαν καὶ ἐργασίᾳ Δώριον, Pausan. El. pr. 20, 5 (9).

[2] Εἰλείθυια Ὀλυμπία, El. post. 20, 2.

altar of that deity, and an inner apartment into which a priestess alone could enter, for the purpose of sacrificing to Sosipolis, a local dæmon[1], who had a chapel[2] also at Elis, near the temple of Fortune. The situation of the temple of Lucina appears to have been on the neck of Mount Cronius.

VI. The temple of Venus Urania[3], in ruins in the time of Pausanias, was near that of Lucina.

VII. The Prytaneium stood near that entrance of the Altis not far from which, on the outside, was the Gymnasium[4]. It contained a Sanctuary of Vesta[5], in advancing towards which, from the entrance of the Prytaneium there was an altar of Pan, to the right. Opposite[6] to the sanctuary of Vesta there was another apartment, called the Ἑστιατόριον, because here[7] the Olympian victors were feasted.

VIII. The Βουλευτήριον or council-house. This seems to have been situated between the Prytaneium and the great Temple[8].

IX. The Theecoleon; a building appertaining to the office of the θεηκόλοι or superintendents of the sacrifices, each of whom was in office for one month[9].

X. The Proëdria[10]: its uses are not stated by Pausanias, nor can the situation either of this

[1] Ἠλείοις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων.
[2] οἴκημα οὐ μέγα, Pausan. El. post. 25, 4.
[3] Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας, El. post. 20, 3 (6).
[4] El. pr. 15, 5 (8).
[5] οἴκημα τῆς Ἑστίας.
[6] ἀπαντικρὺ, El. pr. 15, 8 (12).
[7] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἰκήματι.
[8] Compare El. pr. 23, 1, and 24, 1.
[9] El. pr. 15, 4 (8).
[10] El. pr. 15, 3 (4).

building or of the Theecoleon be distinctly understood from his description of Olympia.

XI. The Philippeium, built by Philip, son of Amyntas, after his victory at Chæroneia, was to the left, in proceeding from the entrance of the Altis to the Prytaneium[1]. It was of brick, of a circular form, and surrounded by columns; on the summit a brazen poppy held together the rafters of the roof[2]. This building was dedicated by Philip after the battle of Chæroneia, and contained five chryselephantine statues of the royal family of Macedonia by Leochares.

XII. The Treasuries. These resembled buildings of the same denomination at Delphi, and, like them, had been built for the most part by distant cities of Italy or Asia, as receptacles for their dedications. Two of the treasuries had been totally, and others partially, despoiled of their contents; and others instead of the original dedications contained statues of Roman emperors. The treasuries were situated to the north of the Heræum on the foot of Mount Cronius, on a raised platform made of the stone poros[3]. They were ten in number, and had been erected by the cities Sicyon, Carthage, Byzantium, Epidamnus, Sybaris, Cyrene, Selinus, Metapontium, Megara, Gela. In the Sicyonian treasury Pausanias saw two brazen beds[4], one of Doric, the other of Ionic workman-

[1] Pausan. El. pr. 17, 1 (4); 20, 5 (10).

[2] ἐπὶ κορυφῇ δέ ἐστι μήκων χαλκῆ σύνδεσμος τοῖς δοκοῖς.

[3] Ἔστι δὲ λίθου πωρίνου κρηπὶς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πρὸς ἀρκτὸν τοῦ Ἱραίου, κατὰ νώτου δὲ αὐτῆς παρήκει τὸ Κρόνιον· ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς κρηπῖδός εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροί· καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἐποιήσαντο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θησαυρούς. El. post. 19, 1.

[4] θαλάμους, (2.)

ship. On the smaller an inscription testified that it weighed 50 talents and had been dedicated by the Sicyonii and their tyrant Myron, who was victor in the chariot-race in the 33rd Olympiad (B. C. 648). In this treasury were also three quoits[1], and some armour, consisting of a brazen shield painted on the concave side, a helmet[2], and greaves[3]. An inscription on the shield in letters almost destroyed by time showed that these arms were offerings of the Myonenses of Locris. Here also were the sword of Pelops with a golden handle[4], a cornucopia[5], the offering of Miltiades, king of the Thracian Chersonesus, for the capture of the fortress Aratus, and a statue of Apollo in box-wood[6], with a gilded head, dedicated by the Epizephyrian Locri, and made by Patrocles of Crotona.—Next to the treasury of Sicyon was that of Carthage, of which the constructors were Pothæus, Antiphilus, and Megacles. The dedications in it were a colossal statue of Jupiter[7], and three breast-plates of linen[8], all presented by Gelon and the Syracusans for a victory over the Carthaginians by land and sea (B. C. 480).—The third treasury was that of the Byzantii, and the fourth that of the Epidamnii, constructed by Pyrrhus and his sons Lacrates and Hermon. It contained Atlas supporting the globe[9], and Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides, made of cedar by

[1] δίσκοι, Pausan. El. post. 19, 3 (4).
[2] κράνος.
[3] κνημῖδες.
[4] λαβή, (6.)
[5] Ἀμαλθείας κέρας.
[6] ἄγαλμα πύξινον Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπιχρύσου τὴν κεφαλήν.
[7] Ζεὺς μεγέθει μέγας, 4 (7).
[8] θώρακες λινοῖ.
[9] πόλον, 5 (8).

Hegylus and his son Theocles[1], as attested by an inscription on the globe. The figures of the Hesperides had been removed from this treasury to the temple of Juno[2].—Next to the treasury of the Byzantii was that of the Sybaritæ[3], and near it that of the Cyrenæi of Libya; the latter containing statues of Roman emperors[4].—Then occurred the treasury of the Selinuntii, in which stood a statue of Bacchus, having the face, the feet, and the hands, of ivory; and near this treasury was that of the Metapontini, in which there was a statue of Endymion, every part of which was made of ivory except the garment[5].—In the treasury of the Megarenses[6] were small figures of cedar studded with gold[7], dedicated by that people, and made by Dontas of Sparta, a disciple of Dipœnus and Scyllis, and more ancient than the treasury itself, which, according to an inscription upon a shield on the summit of the pediment[8],

[1] In this interpretation I have followed the emendation of Boeckh adopted by Bekker: *αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ* instead of *Αὐτονόμου*.

[2] See above, p. 24. For the reading which gives the third treasury to the Byzantii, see Bekker's edition of Pausanias, p. 393, and that of Siebelis, III. adnotationes, p. 72. But the text at the commencement of § 5 (8) of El. post. 19, is still defective: there may be a doubt whether the Atlas &c. were in the treasury of Epidamnus or of Byzantium: the other treasury, it appears, was empty in the time of Pausanias, like that of Sybaris.

[3] El. post. 19, 6 (9). [4] 7 (10).

[5] 8 (11). "Of Metapontium," says Pausanias, "there remained only in my time the theatre and the walls." On the site of Metapontium there still exist ruins of the colonnade of a large temple, but neither theatre nor walls.

[6] *οἱ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ*, 9 (12).

[7] *κέδρου ζῳδία χρυσῷ διηνθισμένα.*

[8] *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀετοῦ*, (13.)

was erected from the spoils of the Corinthians in the archonship of Phorbas, one of the Athenian archons for life. The figures of cedar above mentioned represented the combat of Hercules and Achelous, in the presence of Jupiter and Dejaneira, and of Minerva as the friend[1] of Hercules: but the latter statue had been removed into the Heræum, where it stood near the Hesperides. In the pediment was represented the Gigantomachia. The mention thus made of a pediment gives some idea of the appearance and mode of construction of these treasuries, as well as of the similar buildings at Delphi.—On the tenth treasury, which was very near the Stadium[2], an inscription declared that it was dedicated, together with its contents, by the people of Gela in Sicily, but it no longer contained any statue.

XIII. The Pelopium. This was an inclosure, containing trees and statues, having an opening to the west. It stood to the right of the entrance into the temple of Jupiter, to the north of that building, and at such a distance from it that there were statues and other dedications in the interval, and it was of such a length that it extended from the middle of the temple to the opisthodomus. It was equal probably to a square of about 100 feet[3].

[1] *σύμμαχος*, Pausan. El. post. 19, 9 (12).

[2] *πρὸς αὐτῷ μέν ἐστιν ἤδη τῷ σταδίῳ*, 10 (15).

[3] *Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως καὶ Πελόπιον ποτὲ τετιμημένον τέμενος· ἡρώων δὲ τῶν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοσοῦτον προτετιμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ Πέλοψ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων, ὅσον Ζεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων. ἔστιν οὖν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ δεξιὰν τῆς ἐσόδου πρὸς ἄνεμον βορέαν τὸ Πελόπιον, ἀφεστηκὸς μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ τοσοῦτον, ὡς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀναθήματα ἄλλα ἀνακεῖσθαι· παρήκει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον*

XIV. The Hippodamium, named from Hippodameia (wife of Pelops), whose bones were by order of an oracle brought hither from Mideia of Argolis, was a τέμενος or sacred inclosure, equal in dimensions to a square of 100 feet, and surrounded with a low wall or balustrade[1]. Here women once a year performed ceremonies in honour of Hippodameia. It was within the inclosure of the Altis near the Pompic way.

XV. The Pœcile Stoa, or painted portico, was so named from the pictures, no longer existing in the time of Pausanias, with which it had been painted. It was called the portico of the Echo[2], because the voice of a man calling aloud was repeated from it seven times and more.

All these were within the Altis. Near the walls on the outside were: XVI. The *Studio* of Phidias[3], which contained an altar of all the Gods, and was not far from the Pompic entrance into the Altis. XVII. The Leonidæum, so called as having been built by Leonidas a native; it separated the Pompic way from a narrow street, called the ἀγυιὰ, Atticè στενωπός[4]. The Leonidæum served, in the time

ἀπὸ μέσου μάλιστα ἀρξάμενον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ λίθων τε θριγκῷ περιέχεται καὶ δένδρα ἐντὸς πεφυκότα καὶ ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἀνακείμενοι· ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ πρὸς δυσμῶν ἐστιν ἡλίου. Pausan. El. pr. 13, 1.

[1] ὅσον πλέθρου χωρίον, περιεχόμενον θριγκῷ, El. post. 20, 4.

[2] Ἠχοῦς στοὰ, El. pr. 21, 7 (17).

[3] ἐργαστήριον Φειδίου, El. pr. 15, 1.

[4] Ὀπίσω δὲ ἀναστρέψαντι (ab officina Phidiæ) αὐθὶς ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν, ἐστὶν ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου, τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ Λεωνίδαιον· τῶν δὲ ἐσόδων πεποίηται τῶν ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν, ἡ μόνη τοῖς πομπεύουσίν ἐστιν ὁδός· τοῦτο δὲ ἀνδρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα Λεω-

of Pausanias, to lodge the Roman magistrates[1]. XVIII. The Gymnasium: in this building, which was near the northern entrance into the Altis[2], there were, between its eastern stoa and the external wall, chambers for the athletæ, opening to the west[3]. In the hypæthrum was a basement of marble, upon which stood originally a trophy, in memory of a victory gained by the Eleians over the Arcadians. The Gymnasium served as a place of

νίδου. . . . . διέστηκε δὲ ἀγυιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς πομπικῆς. Pausan. El. pr. 15, 1. 2.

It is evident that *Λεωνιδαίου* cannot be the true reading; and as the only building near the Pompic entrance, besides the Leonidæum, was the Studio of Phidias, *ἐργαστηρίου* is the only substitute that can easily be suggested. The exact situation, however, of the Leonidæum with regard to the other places mentioned will still be obscure; but it would be less so, if *ἐκτὸς* in the preceding passage were altered to *ἐντός*. The next paragraph, *ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου περᾷν μέλλοντι ἐς ἀριστερὰν Ἀφροδίτης βωμὸς, καὶ Ὡρῶν μετ' αὐτόν· κατὰ δὲ ὀπισθόδομον μάλιστά ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πεφυκὼς κότινος· καλεῖται δὲ ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος*, seems to favour the supposition that the Leonidæum was *within* the inclosure of the Altis; and equally so the subsequent paragraph: *ἔστι δέ τοι ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγοραίας βωμὸς, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου.*

[1] *Ῥωμαίων οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιτροπεύοντες.*

[2] El. pr. 15, 5 (8).

[3] *. . . . ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ· πεντάθλοις μὲν καθεστήκασιν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δρομεῦσιν αἱ μελέται· κρηπὶς δ' ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου πεποίηται· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τρόπαιον κατὰ Ἀρκάδων ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπῖδι εἵστήκει. καὶ ἄλλος δέ ἐστιν ἐλάσσων περίβολος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον· καὶ αἱ παλαῖστραι τοῖς ἀθληταῖς εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα. τῆς στοᾶς δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τοῦ γυμνασίου προσεχεῖς τῷ τοίχῳ τῶν ἀθλητῶν εἰσιν αἱ οἰκήσεις, ἐπί τε ἄνεμον τετράμμενον Λίβα καὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς.* El. post. 21, 2.

exercise for the pentathli and foot-runners. Other athletæ were exercised in XIX. The Palæstra, which was smaller than the Gymnasium, and stood near it, to the left of its entrance.

XX. The temple of Ceres Chamyne: this building was situated on one of the extremities of the artificial side of the Hippodrome. It had contained statues of Ceres and Proserpine, but these had been removed, and, in place of them, two others had been erected by Herodes the Athenian [1].

Having thus extracted from Pausanias all that regards the construction, contents, and situation of the several edifices of Olympia, with the exception of the Stadium and Hippodrome, a portion of the Hierum which it will be more convenient to consider separately, I shall now follow the order observed by him in his enumeration of the altars, statues of Jupiter, and statues of the athletæ.

Altars.

After having described the temple of Jupiter, the Pelopium, and the great altar of Jupiter, Pausanias says, "Let us now make mention of all the other altars in Olympia [2]." He particularly remarks, that he does not follow the order of locality in this enu-

[1] *τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου μέρος οὐ χῶμα γῆς ἐστιν, ὄρος δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν· ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν πεποίηται Δήμητρι ἐπίκλησιν Χαμύνῃ.* El. post. 21, 1. — *ἀγάλματα δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Κόρην καὶ Δήμητρα λίθου τοῦ Πεντέλησιν Ἀθηναῖος ἀνέθηκεν Ἡρώδης.* 2.

[2] *φέρε δὴ [ἐποιησάμεθα γὰρ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου μνήμην] ἐπέλθωμεν καὶ τὰ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοὺς βωμούς.* . El. pr. 14, 5 (3).

meration, but that in which the Eleians sacrificed [1]. The first sacrifices were made in the temple of Jupiter, at the altars of Vesta, Jupiter Olympius, and four others [2], one of which was the altar of Minerva Ergane, at which the Phædruntæ, or descendants of Phidias, who had care of the great statue, sacrificed before they cleaned it. On the outside of the temple was another altar of Minerva, a pyramidal altar of Diana, an altar common to Diana and Alpheius; not far from it another altar of Alpheius, and an altar of Vulcan, or of Jupiter Areius, as it was called by some of the Eleians. Then occurred altars of Hercules Parastates, and of his brothers, Epimedes, Idas or Acesidas, Pæonæus, and Iasius. Near the ruins of the house of Œnomaus were altars of Jupiter Hercæus erected by Œnomaus, and of Jupiter Ceraunius in memory of the house of Œnomaus having been struck by lightning. Of the great altar of Jupiter Olympius (which

[1] τῇ τάξει, καθ' ἥντινα Ἠλεῖοι θύειν νομίζουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν.

[2] The passage of Pausanias relating to these altars within the temple is so corrupt, that it remains uncertain to what deities the altars were erected. But the words τρίτα δὲ ἐπὶ ἑνὸς βωμοῦ lead to the belief, that among them were one or more of the six double altars (δίδυμοι βωμοί), or altars to two deities, founded by Hercules, which are enumerated by Herodorus (ap. Sch. Pindar. Ol. 5, 10). These were,—the altars of Jupiter and Neptune, of Juno and Minerva, of Mercury and Apollo, of the Graces and Bacchus, of Diana and Alpheius, of Cronus and Rhea. But four of these double altars were not in the temple, as we learn from Pausanias; namely, the first (El. pr. 24, 1); the third (El. pr. 14, 6 (8)); the fourth (El. pr. 14, 8 (10)); and the fifth (El. pr. 14, 5 (6)). Those of Juno and Minerva, and of Cronus and Rhea, may have been within the temple.

occurred next) Pausanias observes that he had already spoken[1]. Very near it[2] was an altar of the Unknown Gods; beyond it[3] an altar common to Jupiter Catharsius and Victory; and then altars of Jupiter Chthonius, of All the Gods, of Juno Olympia, made of ashes and erected by Clymenus; an altar common to Apollo, inventor of the cithara, and to Mercury, inventor of the lyre; altars of Concord[4], of Minerva, and of the Mother of the Gods. Very near the entrance of the stadium were two altars; one of Mercury Enagonius, the other of Opportunity[5]. Near the treasury of the Sicyonii was an altar of Hercules. At the Sanctuary of the Earth[6] was an altar of Tellus[7] made of ashes[8]. Here in ancient times there was said to have been an Oracle, and upon the place called Stomium[9] there was an altar of Themis; that of Jupiter Catæbates (the conductor downwards) was surrounded with a rail[10]. "Be it remembered," repeats Pausanias, "that in the enumeration of these altars, the order of sacrifice, and not that of locality, has been observed[11]." Nevertheless,

[1] Pausan. El. pr. 14, 5 (8). See above, p. 36.

[2] *πρὸς αὐτῷ*, 6 (8). [3] *μετὰ τοῦτον*.

[4] Ὁμονοίας. [5] Καιροῦ, 7 (9).

[6] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γαίῳ καλουμένῳ, 8 (10).

[7] Γῆς. [8] *τέφρας*.

[9] A hollow in the earth, from which the Oracle was supposed to proceed. Thus the cavity of the Oracle at Delphi, which was surmounted by a tripod, was named *τὸ Στομίον*:—*ὑπερκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ στομίου τρίποδα ὑψηλόν*. (Strabo, p. 419.) The altar of Jupiter Catæbates had obviously a reference to the Stomium.

[10] *φράγμα*.

[11] *μεμνήσθω δέ τις οὐ κατὰ στίχον τῆς ἱδρύσεως ἀριθμουμένους τοὺς βωμοὺς, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῶν Ἠλείων ἐς τὰς θυσίας*.

it would be difficult to believe, the altars having been so numerous, that there was not, in many places, an agreement between the order of locality and the priority of sacrifice; sufficient, at least, to afford in some cases a presumption as to the relative situation of some of the objects mentioned by Pausanias in his description of the altars of Olympia.

Near the sacred inclosure of Pelops[1] was an altar common to Bacchus and the Graces, and between it and the Pelopium an altar of the Muses, and then[2] one of the Nymphs.

Pausanias then proceeds to notice the ergasterium of Phidias and the Leonidæum, and adds, that on entering the Altis from the Leonidæum there were, within the Altis, to the left, altars of Venus and of the Horæ; and towards the right, near the opisthodomus of the temple of Jupiter, a wild-olive tree, called Callistephanus, because from its branches were formed the garlands with which the conquerors in the Olympic contests were crowned; near it was an altar of the nymphs Callistephanæ. Within the Altis, to the right in proceeding from the Leonidæum, were an altar of Diana Agoræa and another of Despœna. Beyond this was the altar of Jupiter Agoræus, and in front of the building called the Proëdria[3] that of Apollo Pythius; then an altar of Bacchus, which was not ancient and was raised by private individuals[4]. On going towards the Hippa-

[1] *πρὸς τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πέλοπος.* [2] *ἐφεξῆς τούτων.*
[3] *πρὸ τῆς καλουμένης Προεδρίας*, Pausan. El. pr. 15, 3 (4).
[4] *ἰδιωτῶν.*

phesis, or starting-place of the horses[1], was the altar of (Jupiter) Mœragetes, and near it an oblong altar of the Fates[2], an altar of Hermes, and two altars of Jupiter the Supreme. In the Hippaphesis, towards the middle, were altars of Neptune Hippius and Juno Hippia; and near the *column*[3], an altar of the Dioscuri. In the entrance leading to the embolus was an altar of Mars Hippius on one side, and of Minerva Hippia on the other. In the entrance of the embolus were altars of Good-Fortune, of Pan, and of Venus; and in the further part of the embolus[4] an altar of the nymphs surnamed Acmenæ. Proceeding from the stoa, which was called Agnaptus, from the name of the architect who built it, there was on the right an altar of Diana.

Returning into the Altis by the Pompic[5] way, there were behind the Heræum altars of the river Cladeus, of Diana, of Apollo, of Diana Coccoca, and of Apollo Thermius. In front of the Theecoleon was a small building[6], at the angle of which stood an altar of Pan.

Pausanias then describes the Prytaneium and its contents[7]; and, after noticing the altar of Vesta, adds, that on all these altars[8] the Eleians sacri-

[1] ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἵππων, Pausan. El. pr. 15, 4 (5).

[2] Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης. It seems to have resembled in form the great altar of Syracuse.

[3] πρὸς τῷ κίονι, (6.)

[4] ἐνδοτάτῳ τοῦ ἐμβόλου.

[5] διὰ τῆς Πομπικῆς. (7.) From another passage (El. post. 20, 4 (7) it appears that ἡ Πομπικὴ ἔσοδος was applied not only to the entrance at the Leonidæum, but to the whole road of the procession from thence through the Altis to the Stadium; but the ordinary appellative was probably ἡ Πομπική.

[6] οἴκημα, (8.)

[7] El. pr. 15, 5 (8).

[8] ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν κατειλεγμένων βωμῶν, 6 (10).

ficed once a month in the ancient manner, burning incense, and placing cakes on the altar, covered with branches of olive and vine. The ministers who had charge of the sacrifice were the Theecolus, who was changed every month, the prophets[1], the libationers[2], the interpreter[3], the flute-player[4], and the woodman[5]. Libations were offered in the Prytaneium to Juno Ammonia and to Parammon (Mercury); for the Eleians from very ancient times had consulted the Oracle of Ammon in Libya, and had dedicated altars there, on which their questions and the oracles were inscribed, as well as the names of the Eleians who had been employed on the occasion. The Eleians poured libations also in the Prytaneium to the heroes and heroines of Eleia and Ætolia. Hymns were sung here in the Doric dialect, but the author of them was unknown.

The chapters of the Prior Eliacs, from 16 to 20, § 2 (5), inclusive, describe the temple of Juno and its contents. Pausanias then abruptly notices the wooden column called that of Œnomaus[6], which stood between the great altar and the temple of Jupiter. It was said by the Eleians to have belonged to the house of Œnomaus, and to have been the only part of the house which escaped when it was burnt by lightning. The wooden column was protected by a roof supported by four columns, and was kept together by bands[7]. In an epigram on a brazen tablet before the column

[1] *μάντεις.* [2] *σπενδοφόροι.* [3] *ἐξηγητής.*
[4] *αὐλητής.* [5] *ξυλεύς.*
[6] *ἣν καλοῦσι Οἰνομάου κίονα*, Pausan. El. pr. 20, 3 (6).
[7] *ὑπὸ δεσμῶν.*

it was described as having stood "near Jupiter[1]," showing that it was at no great distance from the temple of Jupiter.

Pausanias then notices the Metroum[2], which, he remarks, was within the Altis as well as the Philippeium, of which the situation near the Prytaneium has already been mentioned. He then proceeds to describe the several statues of Jupiter in the Altis; these form the subject of chapters 21, 22, 23, 24 of the Prior Eliacs. Although some abrupt transitions occur in this part of his narrative, we can hardly suppose that he has not in general followed an order of locality, as there was no such reason as occurred in regard to the altars, for disturbing any part of that order. In following the way which led from the Metroum to the Stadium, there was seen on the left a basement of stone built on the foot of the mountain[3]; upon this basement stood statues of Jupiter, raised from the produce of fines levied upon athletæ who had violated the regulations of the games. By the natives these statues were called the Zanes. The six which first occurred were produced from a fine levied in the 98th Olympiad on Eupolus of Thessaly and his three antagonists in boxing, whom he had bribed: two of these statues were by Cleon of Sicyon, and on four of them were elegiac inscriptions alluding to the cause of their erection. Next occurred six other Jupiters, produced from a fine levied in the 112th Olympiad on the Athenians for the misconduct of Callippus of

[1] παρὰ Κρονίδην. [2] Pausan. El. pr. 20, 5 (9).

[3] πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει κρηπὶς καὶ ἀναβασμοὶ δι' αὐτῆς. El. pr. 21, 2.

Athens, in bribing his antagonists in the pentathlum. All these were inscribed with verses not better[1] than those on the preceding six statues. Next occurred two statues of Jupiter, the produce of a fine upon some wrestlers whose names had escaped the memory of the Eleian interpreters[2], though it appeared from the inscriptions, that the statues had been erected at the expense of the Rhodii. Another similar fine was levied upon Apollonius of Alexandria, surnamed Rhantis, who, in the 218th Olympiad having arrived too late, was excluded from the concurrence, and in a rage struck the successful athlete in the presence of the Hellanodicæ, and when he was already crowned with olive[3]. In the time of Pausanias, in the 226th Olympiad, from a fine levied on two Egyptian athletæ in the contest of boxing, one of whom had been bribed by the other, a statue of Jupiter was erected on each side of the entrance into the Stadium[4]. Connecting the latter remark of Pausanias with that at the outset of his description of the Zanes, which places those monuments on a platform to the left in proceeding to the Stadium from the Metroum, there remains no doubt as to the relative situations of the Metroum, Zanes, and Stadium. Two other statues of Jupiter were placed, one in the Gymnasium, the other before the Stoa Pœcile, the produce of fines levied on Damonicus, an Eleian who had bribed the antagonist (in wrestling) of his son Polyctor, and on Sosandrus of Smyrna, father of the young man who had received the bribe[5].

[1] οὐδέν τι δεξιώτερα ἐς ποίησιν, Pausan. El. pr. 21, 3 (6).
[2] ἐξηγητάς, 4 (8). [3] 5 (14). [4] 6 (15). [5] 7 (16).

These were the statues of Jupiter erected from the produce of fines. The following had been dedicated by states and individuals[1]:—At an altar within the Altis, near the entrance of the Stadium, which was not employed by the Eleians for sacrifices, but at which the trumpeters and heralds contended in their art, there stood a brazen statue of Jupiter, on a pedestal of the same material, six cubits in height, and having a thunderbolt in each hand; it had been dedicated by the people of Cynætha; here also was a Jupiter in early youth[2], with a collar[3] on his neck, the offering of Cleolas of Phlius. Near the building named Hippodamium, a semi-circular basement supported statues of six Greeks about to engage with as many Trojans, and in the midst of them were Thetis and Aurora, imploring Jupiter to favour their sons, Achilles and Memnon, who were opposed to each other. This great work was by Lycius, son of Myron, and was dedicated by the Apolloniatæ from the tenths of the spoils of the Abantes and Thronium[4]. In proceeding thence a little, occurred a Jupiter facing towards the rising sun, the work of Aristonous of Ægina, and an offering of the people of Metapontium[5]. There was also a dedication of the Phliasii, consisting of statues of Jupiter, of Asopus, and of the five daughters of Asopus, and a Jupiter, presented by some men of Leontium, seven cubits in height[6]. Passing onwards there was, near the entrance of the Council-house, a Jupiter without any inscription; and in turning

[1] δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀνατεθέντα ἰδιωτῶν, Pausan. El. pr. 22, 1. [2] παῖς ἔτι. [3] ὅρμον.
[4] 2 (3). [5] 4 (5). [6] 5 (7).

again towards the north stood a Jupiter facing towards the rising sun: it was the work of Anaxagoras of Ægina, had been dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Platæa, and bore the names of their several cities on the base[1]. Before it was a pillar of brass, on which was engraved the thirty years' suspension of arms between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians (B. C. 445)[2]. Near the car of Cleosthenes[3] was a Jupiter, offered by the Megarenses, and made by Thylacus and Onæthus and their sons[4]. Near the car and statue of Gelo[5] was a very ancient Jupiter bearing a sceptre, an offering of the Hyblæi[6], and near it a brazen pedestal supporting a Jupiter 18 feet high, dedicated by the Cleitorii, and made by the brothers Ariston and Telestas of Sparta[7]. Near the altar common to Jupiter Lecœtas and Neptune Lecœtas, was a Jupiter on a pedestal of brass, the work of Musus, and dedicated by the people of Corinth[8].

In proceeding from the Council-house to the great temple, there was a statue of Jupiter on the left, crowned with flowers, and having a thunderbolt in the right hand; the work of Ascarus of Thebes, and an offering of the Thessalians. Near it was another Jupiter, dedicated by the people of Psophis. To the right of the great temple was a Jupiter (facing) towards the east, 12 feet in height, and said to have been an offering of the Lacedæmonians

[1] Pausan. El. pr. 23, 1. 2 (3).
[2] 3 (4).
[3] V. El. post. 10, 2 (6).
[4] El. pr. 23, 4 (5).
[5] V. El. post. 9, 2 (4).
[6] El. pr. 23, 5 (6).
[7] 6 (7).
[8] El. pr. 24, 1.

during the second Messenian war. Mummius presented, from the spoils of Achaia, the brazen Jupiter which stood to the left of the offering of the Lacedæmonians near the first column of the temple on that side. But the greatest of the brazen statues of Jupiter was dedicated by the Eleians for their victory over the Arcadians; it was 27 feet in height. Near the Pelopium a low column supported a small statue of Jupiter extending the left hand. Opposite to this, among other monuments in a line[1], were statues of Jupiter and Ganymedes, made by Aristocles, son of Cleœtas, and dedicated by Gnothis of Thessaly; then a Jupiter without a beard, one of the offerings of Smicythus[2]; then another beardless Jupiter, presented by the Elaitæ of the Asiatic Æolis; then a Jupiter with Pelops on one side and Alpheius on the other, presented by the people of the peninsular quarter of Cnidus; and a Jupiter dedicated by the Ephesii of the quarter of Coressus[3]. Near the wall[4] of the Altis stood a Jupiter facing towards the west and not inscribed, but supposed to have been a part of the produce of the Achæan spoils acquired by Mummius. But of all the statues of Jupiter, that in the Council-house, surnamed Horcius, having a thunderbolt in each hand, was the most terrible to unjust men. Before it the oaths were taken by the athletæ, and by their fathers, brothers, and masters[5], as well as by the judges of

[1] ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐπὶ στοίχου, El. pr. 24, 1 (5).
[2] V. El. pr. 26, 3, & seq.
[3] El. pr. 24, 1 (8).
[4] πρὸς τῷ τείχει.
[5] γυμνασταῖς, 2 (9).

the boys and young horses[1]. At the feet of this statue was an elegy inscribed on a brazen tablet, intended to terrify those who took the oaths. The statue near the great temple, dedicated by the Roman colony of Corinth, was not of Jupiter, but of Alexander, son of Philip, in the character of Jupiter[2].

Pausanias next proceeds to enumerate the dedications which were not representations of Jupiter[3]. First, he describes some statues of children, with those of a master of a chorus[4] and of a flute-player[5], which were placed by the Messenii, in memory of a chorus of thirty-five children and their two leaders, who were lost in crossing the strait between Messene and Rhegium, to attend a festival at Rhegium. These figures were works of Callon of Elis, and an elegiac inscription on the monument was composed by Hippias, surnamed ὁ σοφός. On the wall[6] of the Altis were children of brass by Calamis, extending their hands as if invoking the gods; these were dedicated by the people of Acragas from the spoils of Motye, a city inhabited by Phœnicians and Libyans. On the same wall were two naked statues of Hercules, one representing him as very young, the other[7] as killing the lion of Nemea with arrows; the latter was the work of Nicodamus of Mænalus, and had been presented by Hippotion

[1] ὅσοι τοὺς παῖδας ἢ τῶν ἵππων τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τοὺς πώλους κρίνουσιν, Pausan. El. pr. 24, 2 (10).

[2] 24, 3 (25, 1). [3] οὐ μίμησις Διός, El. pr. 25, 1.

[4] διδάσκαλον χοροῦ. (4.) [5] αὐλητήν.

[6] ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, 2 (5).

[7] τὸν μὲν παῖδα ἡλικίαν, τὸν δέ? 4 (7).

of Taras; the former, dedicated by Anaxippus of Mende, had been brought by the Eleians from the extremity of the sacred way which leads from Elis to Olympia[1]. Near the great temple stood statues of the warriors who drew lots to determine which of them should fight with Hector. Eight armed Grecian chieftains were represented standing before Nestor, who on a separate pedestal was putting their symbols[2] into his helmet. A ninth figure, that of Ulysses, had been conveyed to Rome by Nero. On that of Agamemnon alone was the name, written from right to left. A cock on the shield of Idomeneus showed that he was descended from the Sun by Pasiphaë, and an inscription in two verses on the same shield, that the statues were the works of Onatas; another distich on the basis[3] declared them to have been dedicated by the Achæans. Near them was a Hercules fighting with an Amazon on horseback, the work of Aristocles of Cydonia, and presented by Evagoras of Zancle, before that city had assumed the name of Messana[4] (B. C. 494). There was also a brazen Hercules, son of Amphitryon, ten cubits high, armed with club and bow, on a pedestal of brass; a work of Onatas, and a dedication of the Thasii[5]. A statue of Victory, on a column, made by Pæonius of Mende, was presented by the Messenii of Naupactus, from the spoils of war[6]. The following were the dedications

[1] *πρὸ τούτου ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῷ πέρατι, ἣ ἄγει μὲν ἐξ Ἠλιδος ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καλεῖται δὲ ἱερά.* Pausan. El. pr. 25, 4 (7).

[2] *τὸν ἑκάστου κλῆρον*, 5 (8). [3] *ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ* (10).

[4] 6 (11). [5] 7 (12). [6] El. pr. 26, 1.

of Smicythus, son of Chœrus[1]. To the right of the brazen doors, at the entrance of the temple of Jupiter[2], were Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, by Glaucus of Argos. To the left of the same temple were Proserpina, Venus, Ganymedes, Diana, Æsculapius, Hygieia, Homer, and Hesiod[3]. Not far from the Pelopium were the beardless Jupiter, already mentioned[4], also Bacchus, Orpheus, and Agon, holding ἁλτῆρες, or semicircular weights, in his hands, such as are used by those who contend in leaping. All these were works of Dionysius of Argos. Other dedications of Smicythus had been carried away by Nero[5]. Near those made by Glaucus (*i. e.* on the right of the entrance into the temple of Jupiter) was a Minerva, with ægis and helmet, by Nicodamus of Mænalus, presented by the Eleians; and near it a Victory, without wings, by Calamis, an offering of the Mantinenses[6]. Near the smaller offerings of Smicythus, made by Dionysius, (*i. e.* towards the Pelopium,) were the exploits of Hercules against the Nemean lion, the Lernæan hydra, the dog of Hades, and the Erymanthian boar, dedicated by the people of Heracleia from the spoils of the Maryandini[7]. Over-against[8] these statues

[1] Smicythus, according to Herodotus (7, 170), Pausanias, and the inscriptions on some of the monuments at Olympia, had been a slave, and treasurer of Anaxilas of Rhegium; after the tyrant's death, he retired to Tegea, and on the recovery of his son from sickness made these votive offerings.

[2] V. Pausan. El. pr. 10, 3 (10).

[3] El. pr. 26, 2.

[4] See above, p. 55.

[5] El. pr. 26, 3.

[6] 5 (6).

[7] 6 (7).

[8] ἀντικρὺ, El. pr. 27, 1.

stood in order[1], turned towards the south, and very near the Pelopium, some dedications; among which were those of Phormis of Mænalus, who distinguished himself in war, and became wealthy in the service of Gelon, son of Deinomenes, and his brother Hieron, —namely, two horses, each having a charioteer[2] beside it; one of these two pairs of figures was by Dionysius of Argos, the other by Simon of Ægina; there were also three pairs of statues, representing Phormis fighting with an opponent; which had been presented by Lycortas of Syracuse[3]. Here likewise was a Mercury, clothed with a helmet, chlamys, and shirt, and having a ram under his arm, dedicated by the Pheneatæ, and the joint work of Onatas and Calliteles. Next occurred a Mercury, bearing a caduceus, by Callon of Elis, dedicated by Glaucias of Rhegium[4]; then two brazen oxen, by Philesius of Eretria, one presented by the Corcyræi, the other by the Eretrienses[5]. Under the plane-trees, which were near the middle of the Altis, was a brazen trophy erected by the Eleians, for their victory in the Altis over the Lacedæmonians (B. C. 364), made by Dædalus of Sicyon[6]. Near the statue of Anauchidas[7], there was a statue having weights in the hands, like a pentathlus, which had been dedicated by the people of Mende after having taken Sipte[8].

This closes the Prior Eliacs, or fifth book of Pausanias. Of the Posterior Eliacs, the first eighteen

[1] ἐπὶ στοίχου, Pausan. El. pr. 27, 1. [2] ἡνίοχος, (2.)
[3] 4 (7). [4] 5 (8).
[5] 6 (9). [6] 7 (11). V. El. post. 2, 4 (8).
[7] V. El. post. 14, 5 (11). 16, 1. [8] El. pr. 27, 8 (12).

chapters describe statues of victorious athletæ and horses, together with those of some other individuals to whom statues had been here erected. The author omits to notice the monuments of those athletæ who owed their honours to chance more than to their own merits, while he names some to whom no monument had been erected. It is evident, from his frequent reference to the inscriptions on the monuments, and sometimes by the citations of the epigrams themselves, that in every part of his description of Olympia, Pausanias derived his information chiefly from this source. To the right of the temple of Juno stood statues of Symmachus of Elis, of Neolaidas of Pheneus, and of Archidamus of Elis, all made by Alypus of Sicyon, a disciple of Naucydes of Argos; also that of Cleogenes of Elis, and near it those of three other Eleians, Deinolochus, Pyrrhus, and Troilus; the first was made by Cleon of Sicyon, that of Pyrrhus was a work of Lysippus. Near the Troilus, on a basis of stone, stood the car of Cynisca[1], with her statue and that of her charioteer, works of Apelles. And near this monument were statues of the horses of two men, who had gained the prize at Olympia, namely, Anaxandrus, represented as praying to the god, and Polycles, surnamed Polychalcus, who was holding in his right hand a brow-band of victory[2], with two boys beside him, one of whom held a hoop[3], while

[1] Cynisca was daughter of Archidamus, king of Sparta, and was the first woman who trained horses for the Olympic contest (Lacon. 8, 1). Her ἡρῶον was in the Platanistus at Sparta (Lacon. 15, 1).

[2] τὴν ταινίαν. Pausan. El. post. 1, 2 (7). [3] τροχόν.

the other demanded the tænia. Next occurred statues of Xenarges of Stratus in Acarnania, by Lysippus, and of the Lacedæmonians, Xenarges, Lycinus, Arcesilaus, and Lichas, son of Arcesilaus, who had been whipped by the Hellanodicæ for having tied a tænia on the head of his victorious charioteer[1]. There were two statues of Arcesilaus, by Myron of Athens. Near the Lichas stood Thrasybulus, a prophet of Elis, examining the entrails of a dog, while a lizard[2] was creeping up his right shoulder; Timosthenes of Elis, and Antipatrus of Miletus, the latter by Polycleitus, the former by Eutychides of Sicyon, who had made a highly venerated statue of Fortune for the Syrians of the Orontes, and who was a pupil of Lysippus. Near the Timosthenes were figures of Timon, and of his young son Æsypus, seated on a horse, works of Dædalus of Sicyon. The statue of a nameless athlete of Samus was dedicated by Mecon his instructor[3]. Here also was the statue of Damiscus of Messene, an Olympic victor at twelve years of age[4]. Very near the Damiscus was a nameless statue, inscribed as a dedication of Ptolemy son of Lagus, a Macedonian (the king of Egypt). The statue of Chæreas of Sicyon was the work of Asterion. Next stood those of Sophius, a boy of Messene, and of Stomius of Elis, who, besides three agonistic victories, had been a successful commander of Eleian cavalry[5]. Then were Labax of Lepreum, and Aristodemus of Elis, the latter made by Aristodemus, a disciple of

[1] El. post. 2, 1 (2).
[2] γαλεώτης, 2 (4).
[3] παιδοτρίβης, 4 (9).
[4] 5 (10).
[5] El. post. 3, 1 (2).

Dædalus of Sicyon. The statue of Hippos of Elis was made by Damocritus of Sicyon[1]. Before that of Cratinus of Ægeira stood the statue of his instructor, made by Cantharus of Sicyon. The statue of Eupolemus of Elis was made by Dædalus of Sicyon[2]. That of Œbotas of Paleia, afterwards called Dyme, had been erected by the Achæans, 74 Olympiads after his victory, by command of the Oracle of Delphi. The statue of Antiochus of Lepreum was the work of Nicodamus, and near it stood that of Hysmon of Elis, which had weights in the hands, of ancient form[3], and was the work of Cleon. Next to the Hysmon was Nicostratus of Heræa in Arcadia, made by Pantias; then Dicon of Caulonia, who gained fifteen victories at the four great Grecian contests, and erected as many statues at Olympia[4]. Near the Dicon[5] was Xenophon of Ægium by Olympus, and Pyrilampes of Ephesus, by Pyrilampes of Messene under Ithome. The statue of Lysander, son of Aristocritus of Sparta, was dedicated by the Samii, and inscribed by them with a distich in honour of his virtues[6]. Next to the Lysander was Athenæus of Ephesus, then Sostratus of Sicyon, surnamed Acrochersites, because he gained his victories in the pancratium by squeezing his adversaries' hands[7]. Then occurred the statue of Leontiscus of Messene in Sicily, who pursued a similar method in wrestling; it was the work of Pythagoras of Rhegium[8]. A nameless statue repre-

[1] Pausan. El. post. 3, 2 (5).
[2] 3, 3 (7).
[3] ἁλτῆρας ἀρχαίους, 4 (10).
[4] 5 (12).
[5] ἐπὶ τῷ Δίκωνι, (13.)
[6] 6 (14).
[7] El. post. 4, 1.
[8] 2 (3).

senting a boy, having his head bound with the ταινία, or band of victory, was the work of Phidias. The statue of Satyrus, one of the Iamidæ of Elis, was made by Silanion; that of Amyntas of Ephesus, by Polycles of Athens[1]; that of Chilon of Patræ, who after numerous agonistic victories fell in battle either at Chæroneia or Lamia, by Lysippus[2]. Next to the Chilon was a statue of Molpion, who had been crowned by the Eleians, and that of Aristotle of Stageira[3], erected by a disciple, or by some military man, Aristotle having enjoyed great favour with Alexander and Antipater. Next occurred Sodamas of Assus in the Troas[4], Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, king of Sparta, erected by the Lacedæmonians, and Evanthes of Cyzicus; near which was Lampus of Philippi, a trainer of horses[5], accompanied by a chariot in which stood a young woman[6]. The statue of Cyniscus of Mantineia was the work of Polycleitus; that of Ergoteles was inscribed as that of a Himeræan, though in reality Ergoteles was of Gnossus, from whence he had fled to Himera[7]. On a lofty pedestal stood the statue of Polydamas of Scotussa, the largest and strongest man since the heroic times; and some of whose feats of strength were described in sculpture on the pedestal, and others in the inscription[8]. Near this monument were the statues of Protolaus of Manti-

[1] Pausan. El. post. 4, 3 (5). [2] 4 (6).

[3] 5 (8). This and the Lysander were among the statues not of athletæ.

[4] (9). [5] ἀνὴρ ἱπποτρόφος, 6 (10).

[6] παῖς παρθένος. [7] 7 (11).

[8] El. post. 5, 1—4 (1—9).

neia by Pythagoras of Rhegium,—of Narycidas of Phigaleia, by Dædalus of Sicyon[1],—of Callias of Athens, by Micon the Athenian painter,—and of Androsthenes of Mænalus, by Nicodamus of Mænalus. Next occurred Eucles of Rhodes, by Naucydes; and Agenor of Thebes, by Polycleitus of Argos, a pupil of Naucydes, and not the same Polycleitus who made the Juno (of the Argive Heræum[2]): also Damoxenidas of Mænalus by Nicodamus of the same city. Here stood also the statues of Lastratidas of Elis[3], of Euthymus of the Italian Locris, by Pythagoras of Rhegium[4], of Pytharchus of Mantineia, and of Charmides of Elis. Then occurred the statue of Diagoras of Rhodes, by Callicles of Megara, and those of his three sons and two grandsons, all of whom had been victorious at Olympia[5]. In like manner Alcænetus of Lepreum, and his two sons Hellanicus and Theantus, had statues at Olympia, and near them were those of Lycinus of Elis, and of Guathon of Dipæa, the latter made by Callicles of Megara. That of Dromeus of Stymphelus, who had gained twelve victories in running, was by Pythagoras, and that of Pythocles of Elis by Polycleitus[6]. The next statues mentioned by Pausanias are those of Socrates of Pellene, of Amertus of Elis, of Evanoridas of Elis, of Damarchus of Parrhasia, and of Eubotas of Cyrene. That of Amertus was made by Phradmon of Argos[7]. The statue of Timanthus of Cleonæ was by Myron of

[1] Pausan. El. post. 6, 1.
[2] V. Corinth, 17, 4 (5).
[3] El. post. 6, 1 (3).
[4] 2 (7).
[5] El. post. 7, 1 (2).
[6] 3 (10).
[7] El. post. 8, 1. 2.

Athens, that of Baucis of Trœzen by Naucydes. Beyond the Baucis occurred statues of Euthymenes of Mænalus by Alypus, of Philippus of Pellene by Myron, of Critodamus of Cleitor by Cleon, of Promachus of Pellene[1], and near the last that of Timasitheus of Delphi, by Ageladas of Argos[2]. The statue of Theognetus of Ægina, bearing a cone of the cultivated pine in his hand, was the work of Ptolichus of the same island: a nameless statue was that of one who had gained the horse-race called Calpe[3], which did not entitle him to be registered among the Olympic victors. Near it stood Xenocles of Mænalus by Polycleitus, then Alcetus of Cleitor by Cleon, Aristeus of Argos and his father Cheimon, the former a work of Pantias of Chius, the latter by Naucydes, who made another statue of Cheimon, which was conveyed from Argos to Rome, and in the time of Pausanias stood there in the temple of Peace. The statue of Philys of Elis was made by Cratinus of Sparta[4]. The car of Gelon of Gela was the work of Glaucias of Ægina[5], near it was the statue of Philon of Corcyra by the same artist, and that of Agametor of Mantineia[6]. Beyond these stood Glaucus of Carystus, said to have been a descendant of Glaucus of Anthedon, who was worshipped as a marine deity[7]; the statue was by Glau-

[1] Pausan. El. post. 8, 3 (5). Concerning Promachus, see Achaic. 27, 2 (5). [2] El. post. 8, 4 (6).

[3] In the Calpe, the rider throwing himself off from a mare towards the latter end of the course, finished it on foot, leading the mare; the Apene was a car drawn by two mules. These contests lasted only from the 70th to the 84th Olympiad. El. pr. 9, 2. [4] El. post. 9, 1 (4).

[5] 2 (5). [6] 3 (9). [7] V. Bœot. 22, 6 (7).

cias of Ægina, and represented Glaucus as exercising his arms[1]. The statues of Damaretus of Heræa, and his son Theopompus, were works of Eutelidas and Chrysothemis of Argos. That of Theopompus, son of the aforesaid Theopompus, was by an unknown artist. Damaretus was represented in armour[2].

Here were statues also of Iccus of Tarentum, and of Pantarces of Elis, the beloved of Phidias; next to which were the statue, car, four horses and charioteer of Cleosthenes of Epidamnus, the work of Ageladas. Cleosthenes was the first who raised his statue at Olympia for a victory in the Hippodrome; for there is no statue in the car of Evagoras of Laconia. That of Cleosthenes stood behind the statue of Jupiter, which had been dedicated by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa[3]. The statue of Lycinus of Heræa was the work of Cleon, that of Epicradius of Mantineia was by Ptolichus of Ægina, and that of Agiadas of Elis by Serambus of Ægina. The name of the artist who made the statue of Tellon of Thasus was not known[4]. Next to these were the kings Philip son of Amyntas, his son Alexander, Seleucus and Antigonus; all except Antigonus on horseback[5]: and near them Theagenes, who had gained in the course of his life 1400 crowns, who received divine honours in his native city Thasus, and to whom statues had been raised in many places. His statue

[1] *σκιαμαχοῦντος δὲ ὁ ἀνδριὰς παρέχεται σχῆμα*, Pausan. El. post. 10, 1 (3).

[2] 2 (4). As having contended in the *ὁπλίτου δρόμος*. In later times the *σταδιοδρόμος* was not armed.

[3] See above, p. 54.

[4] El. post. 10, 2 (9).

[5] El. post. 11, 1.

at Olympia was by Glaucias of Ægina [1]. Near it was a group, consisting of a brazen car, on either side of which was a running horse, with a boy on its back. These were memorials of the Olympic victories of Hieron, son of Deinomenes, tyrant of Syracuse, dedicated by Deinomenes, son of Hieron; the car was made by Onatas, the horses and young men by Calamis [2]. Here also was a statue of Hieron, son of Hierocles, who obtained the supreme power at Syracuse after the death of Agathocles; and another statue of the same king on horseback, both dedicated by his sons, and made by Micon of Syracuse [3]. Next to these were statues of Areus, son of Acrotatus, king of Sparta, dedicated by the Eleians; of Aratus, son of Clinias (of Sicyon), by the Corinthians; another of Areus on horseback; that of Timon of Elis, mounted on a brazen car; those of Callon, by Daippus, and of Hippomachus, both young men of Elis,—the car of Theochrestus of Cyrene, the statue of Agesarchus of Tritæa, by the sons of Polycles [4], and that of Astylus of Crotona, by Pythagoras. A column erected by the Lacedæmonians recorded the (ancient) victories of Chionis, and a statue standing by it, made by Myron, was said to be that of Chionis [5]. Not far from the column of Chionis was the statue of Duris of

[1] Pausan. El. post. 11, 3 (9).
[2] El. post. 12, 1.
[3] 2 (4).
[4] 3 (9).
[5] El. post. 13, 1 (2). Pausanias here names Hermogenes of Xanthus, Polites of Ceramus in Caria Tracheia, and Leonidas of Rhodes, as having distinguished themselves by their victories not less than Chionis, but without any mention of their statues.

Samus, the work of Hippias[1]. Near the statue of the Tyrant[2] (Hieron), stood those of Diallus of Smyrna, of Thersilochus of Corcyra, and of Aristion of Epidaurus, the two latter by Polycleitus. That of Bycelus of Sicyon was made by Canachus of the same city; and that of Mnaseas of Cyrene, by Pythagoras of Rhegium. An Argive artist, not named, had made that of Agemachus of Cyzicus[3].

Here was the statue of Aura, the mare of Pheidolas of Corinth, which, after her rider had fallen to the ground, completed the course and stopped before the Hellanodicæ, as if conscious she had gained the victory. A pillar, bearing upon it a horse in relief, was in commemoration of a victory gained by the two sons of Pheidolas. Here also were statues of Agathinus and Telemachus of Elis; of these the former had been dedicated by the Pellenenses of Achaia, that of Aristophon by the Athenians[4]; and near the last stood that of Pherias of Ægina. Near the statue of Hyllus of Rhodes was a small brazen horse, dedicated by Crocon of Eretria in honour of his victory in the chariot-race; and the statue of Telestas of Messene, a work of Silanion[5]. That of (the celebrated) Milon of Crotona was by Dameas of the same city[6]. Near the statue of Pyrrhus, son of

[1] Pausan. El. post. 13, 3 (5). [2] παρὰ τὸν τύραννον, 4 (6).

[3] Pausanias here notices the numerous victories of Tisandrus of Naxus in Sicily; and adds, "Of Naxus, not even the ruins remain; and if its name be now known, it is chiefly owing to Tisandrus." 1600 years have elapsed since the time of Pausanias, and coins of Naxus 600 or 700 years older are still extant, of the greatest beauty and in perfect preservation.

[4] 6 (11). [5] El. post. 14, 1 (4).

[6] 2 (5).

Æacides king of Thesprotis, which was erected by Thrasybulus of Elis, stood a pillar on which was represented in relief, on a small scale, a man playing on (two) flutes, in memory of Pythocritus of Sicyon [1], who played on the flute during the pentathlum on six consecutive Olympiads. The statue of Cylon, who delivered the Eleians from the tyranny of Aristotimus, was erected by the Ætolians. Those of the Messenians, Gorgus and Damaretus, were made, the former by Theron, a Bœotian, the latter by Silanion of Athens. Here were also statues of Anauchidas son of Philys of Elis, and of Anochus of Taras, the latter by Ageladas of Argos. A boy seated on a horse, with a (young) man standing beside him, recorded the victory of Xenombrotus of Cos in the horse-race, and that of Xenodicus among the youthful pugilists; the former statue was the work of Philotimus of Ægina, the latter of Panthias.

Two statues of Pythes of Abdera, works of Lysippus, had been dedicated by some military men as memorials of his talents as a commander. Here were likewise statues of Meneptolemus of Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf, and of Philon of Corcyra, of Procles of Andrus, and of Hieronymus of the same island, who overcame in the pentathlum Tisamenes, the prophet of the Greeks at the battle of Platæa. The Procles was made by Somis, the Hieronymus by Stomius. Here also were two statues of Æschines of Elis, for two victories in the pentathlum [2],

[1] ἀνὴρ μικρὸς αὐλοὺς ἔχων ἐστὶν ἐκτετυπωμένος ἐπὶ στήλης, Pausan. El. post. 14, 4 (9).

[2] 5 (13).

and statues of Archippus of Mitylene, of Zenon of Lepreum by Pyrilampes of Messene, of Cleinomachus of Elis[1], and of Pantarces of the same city, who had two statues raised to him, one for his victory in the horse-race[2], the other for having negotiated a peace between the Achæans and Eleians. Here likewise were statues of Olidas of Elis, erected by the Ætolians, of Charinus of Elis, of Ageles of Chius, made by Theomnestus of Sardeis[3], of Cleitomachus of Thebes, dedicated by his father Hermocrates, of Epitherses of Erythræ in Ionia, erected by the Erythræi, and two statues of Hieron (son of Hierocles) dedicated by the people of Syracuse, with a third by the sons of Hieron: also the statue of Timoptolis of Elis, which had been presented by the Palenses of Cephallenia[4], that of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus; and that of a man without a name, represented in the character of a hunter[5]. Those of Demetrius, and his son Antigonus, were dedications of the Byzantii. Eutelidas, who had gained the prize in the pentathlum, the only time that boys had been allowed to contend for it, had an archaic statue on which the inscription was nearly obliterated. Then occurred, a second time[6], Areus the Spartan king, and Gorgus of Elis[7]. The statue of a man with children beside him was said to have been that of Ptolemy son of Lagus: near it were two statues of Caprus of Elis[8]. Here also were statues of Anau-

[1] Pausan. El. post. 15, 1.
[2] κέλητι, (2.)
[3] 15, 2.
[4] 3 (7).
[5] θηρεύοντος, 4 (7).
[6] See above, p. 67.
[7] El. post. 15, 5 (9).
[8] 6 (10).

chidas[1] and Pherenicus of Elis; of Pleistanus, son of Eurydamus, who commanded the Ætolians against the Gauls, of Antigonus, father of Demetrius, and of Seleucus. The two latter were dedicated by Tydeus of Elis; the Pleistanus by the people of Thespiæ[2]. Not far from a statue of Timon of Elis, who, besides his agonistic victories, had fought with the Ætolians against the Thessalians, and had commanded the Ætolian garrison of Naupactus, stood the figures of Hellas and Elis, the former crowning Antigonus, tutor of Philip son of Demetrius, with one hand, and Philip himself with the other; the latter crowning in the same manner Demetrius, who made war with Seleucus, and with Ptolemy son of Lagus. Here were statues of Aristides[3] and of Menalces of Elis, of Philonides of Chersonesus in Crete, who was runner[4] to Alexander son of Philip: then those of Brimias of Elis, of Leonidas of the island Naxus, erected by the Psophidii, of the Eleians Nicandrus and Asamon, the former by Daippus, the latter by Pyrilampes: of Evalcis of Elis, and of Seleadas a Lacedæmonian[5]; near which last was a pillar supporting a small car and a statue of Calliteles, dedicated by his son Polypeithes. Between the statues of Lampus and Aristarchus of Elis was that of Lysippus of Elis, made by Andreas of Argos[6]. Deinosthenes of Lacedæmon had placed on one side of

[1] Mentioned before, see p. 69.
[2] Pausan. El. post. 16, 1 (2).
[3] 3 (4).
[4] ἡμεροδρόμος.
[5] El. post. 16, 5 (6).
[6] (7).

his statue a column, between which and another column at Sparta there was a distance of 660 stades. Here were statues of the Eleians Theodorus, Nelaidas, and Pyttalus, the last by Sthenis of Olynthus. Then occurred an equestrian figure of Ptolemæus, and near it statues of Pæanius and Clearetus of Elis, and the car of Glaucon, an Athenian [1].

"Such," adds Pausanias, "were the things most worthy of notice which presented themselves to him who proceeded in the direction before mentioned by me [2]." But in proceeding to the right of the way leading from the Leonidæum to the great altar, the following were the most remarkable monuments which occurred [3]:—namely, statues of Democrates of Tenedus, and of Crianius of Elis, the former by Dionysicles of Miletus, the latter by Lysis a Macedonian. Those of Herodotus of Clazomenæ and of Hegepolis of Cos were erected by their native cities [4]; that of Ptolemy, grandson of Lagus, by Aristolaus of Lacedæmon. Here likewise were those of Butas of Miletus, of Callicrates of Magnesia on the Lethæus [5], made by Lysippus; of Alexibius of Heræa in Arcadia, by Acestor; of Emaution by an Arcadian artist not named [6]; of Hermesianax of Colophon,

[1] Pausan. El. post. 16, 7 (9).

[2] ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνδρὶ ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει κατὰ τὰ ἡμῖν εἰρημένα, El. post. 17, 1. Refer to El. pr. 15, 3.

[3] εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἀφικέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ θελησείας, τοσάδε ἐστί σοι τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἐς μνήμην. El. post. 17, 1.

[4] (3).

[5] A small branch of the Mæander.

[6] El. post. 17, 2 (4).

erected by the Colophonii; of Eicasius of Colophon, son of the daughter of Hermesianax; of two young Eleians, Chœrilus and Theotimus, the works respectively of Sthenis of Olynthus and of Dætondas of Sicyon[1]. Then occurred the statues of two men of Elis, Archidamus and Eperastus[2]; and among some dedications, not worthy of being specified, were the statues of Alexinicus of Elis, by Cantharus of Sicyon, and that of Gorgias of Leontium (the celebrated orator) which had been dedicated by Eumolpus, who was descended from his sister[3]. Here was the car of Cratisthenes of Cyrene, containing statues of Cratisthenes, and of Victory, the works of Pythagoras[4], and the statue of Anaximenes, who wrote on the antiquities of Greece and on the actions of Philip son of Amyntas, and of Alexander son of Philip: this statue had been dedicated by the people of Lampsacus, whose city he had saved from the wrath of Alexander[5]. Here also was the statue of Sotades of Crete. The statue of Praxidamas of Ægina made of the cypress, and that of Rhexibius of Opus made of the fig-tree, were near the column of Œnomaus. These athletæ were the first who erected statues at Olympia, the former in the 59th Olympiad, the latter in the 61st[6].

Pausanias then proceeds to describe the Treasuries. They stood northward of the Heræum; and the last described by him, that of the Geloi, was close to the

[1] Pausan. El. post. 17, 3 (5).
[2] 4 (6).
[3] 5 (9).
[4] El. post. 18, 1.
[5] 2.
[6] 4 (7).

Stadium[1]. He then says, that upon the summit of Mount Cronius, which rose immediately above the platform of the Treasuries[2], the Basilæ sacrificed at the vernal equinox[3]. At its extremity towards the north, between the mountain and the Treasuries, was the temple of Lucina Olympia[4], containing the Sanctuary of Sosipolis, who, in the form of a serpent, was said to have assisted the Eleians in their battle with the Arcadians in the Altis. The tomb of the Arcadians who lost their lives on this occasion was on the height which occurs to the westward after having traversed the Cladeus[5]. Near the temple of Lucina were the ruins of the temple of Venus Urania, containing some altars on which sacrifices were made. Pausanias next describes the Hippodamium, which, he says, was near the Pompic ἔσοδος, and then immediately remarks, that at the extremity of the Zanes or statues which had been dedicated from fines levied upon athletæ, was the

[1] *πρὸς αὐτῷ μέν ἐστιν ἤδη τῷ σταδίῳ.* Pausan. El. post. 19, 10 (15).

[2] *Τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Κρόνιον κατὰ τὰ ἤδη λελεγμένα μοι παρὰ τὴν κρηπῖδα καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ παρήκει θησαυρούς.* El. post. 20, 1. See p. 39.

[3] To Cronus. The connexion of this worship with Ætolia, from whence Elis was colonized, and from whence also came Oxylus, the reviver of the Olympic contest, is shown by Strabo, pp. 468, 472.

[4] *ἐν δὲ τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ Κρονίου κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν Εἰληθυίας.* El. post. 20, 2.

[5] *τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐστὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου διαβάντων τὸν Κλάδεον ὡς ἐπὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς.* 3 (6).

entrance into the Stadium called the Secret; through which the Hellanodicæ, who regulated the contests, and the Agonistæ entered [1].

The Stadium was a mound of earth, in which there was a seat for the Hellanodicæ, and over-against it an altar of white marble, on which sat the priestess of Ceres Chamyne to behold the games [2]. At the extremity of the Stadium, from which those who contended in the races of the Stadium began their course [3], was

[1] Pausan. El. post. 20, 4 (7). There were ten Hellanodicæ, which number had not varied since the 108th Olympiad, B. C. 348. El. pr. 9, 5 (6).

[2] Τὸ μὲν δὴ στάδιον γῆς χῶμά ἐστι, πεποίηται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καθέδρα τοῖς τιθεῖσι τὸν ἀγῶνα. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν βωμὸς λίθου λευκοῦ· ἐπὶ τούτου καθεζομένη τοῦ βωμοῦ θεᾶται γυνὴ τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Χαμύνης. El. post. 20, 5. 6 (8. 9).

This description of the Stadium, as "a mound of earth," on which there was a seat of the presiding magistrates, might naturally lead to the belief that there were no other seats, and that spectators witnessed the performances of the Stadium from the naked declivities. But such a conclusion would be erroneous. Pausanias describes the Stadium of the Hierum of Epidaurus in the same words, with the addition, that such in general was the formation of Greek stadia, στάδιον, οἷα Ἕλλησι τὰ πολλὰ, γῆς χῶμα, Corinth. 27, 6 (5). In almost all the Greek stadia, which still remain in any moderate degree of preservation, remains of seats of stone or marble are to be found. At the Hierum of Epidaurus, in particular, there are very considerable remains of such seats. Pausanias, therefore, intended no more than that stadia were generally formed by means of an artificial accumulation of earth. The Stadium of Thebes, he says, resembled those of Epidaurus and Olympia in being a heap of earth, στάδιον κατὰ ταῦτα τῷ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίων γῆς χῶμα. Bœot. 23, 1.

[3] ἢ τοῖς σταδιοδρόμοις ἄφεσις πεποίηται. Pausan. El. post. 20, 6 (9).

a monument called by the Eleians the tomb of Endymion. In proceeding towards the Hippodrome from that part of the Stadium where was the seat of the Hellanodicæ, occurred the Hippaphesis, or starting-place of the horses, the constructors of which were the artists Cleœtas and Aristides. It resembled in form the prow of a ship; the embolus or beak being turned towards the running-place. Its widest part was adjacent to the stoa of Agnaptus. At the end of the embolus was a hollow pillar surmounted by a brazen dolphin. Each side of the Hippaphesis was more than 400 feet in length, and consisted of apartments[1] which were assigned by lot to those who brought horses to the Olympic contest. Before the chariots, as well as before the single race-horses, a cord was extended, serving as a barrier. An altar of crude brick whitened was erected at every Olympiad about the middle of the prow, on which there was a brazen eagle extending its wings to the utmost. The superintendent of the race moved this figure by means of machinery within the altar, and caused the eagle to rise so as to be seen by all those who attended the games; the dolphin at the same time fell to the ground[2]. The first barriers on

[1] *Παρέχεται μὲν οὖν σχῆμα ἡ ἄφεσις κατὰ πρῴραν νεὼς, τέτραπται δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ἔμβολον ἐς τὸν δρόμον. καθότι δὲ τῇ Ἀγνάπτου στοᾷ προσεχής ἐστιν ἡ πρώρα, κατὰ τοῦτο εὐρεῖα γίνεται. δελφὶς δὲ ἐπὶ κανόνος κατὰ ἄκρον μάλιστα τὸ ἔμβολον πεποίηται χαλκοῦς. ἑκατέρα μὲν δὴ πλευρὰ τῆς ἀφέσεως πλέον ἢ τετρακοσίους πόδας παρέχεται τοῦ μήκους, ᾠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς οἰκήματα.* Pausan. El. post. 20, 7 (10).

[2] *πρὸ δὲ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἢ καὶ ἵππων τῶν κελήτων, διήκει πρὸ αὐτῶν καλώδιον ἀντὶ ὕσπληγγος. βωμὸς δὲ ὠμῆς πλίνθου, τὰ ἐκτὸς κεκονιαμένος, ἐπὶ ἑκάστης Ὀλυμπιάδος ποιεῖται κατὰ τὴν πρώραν*

each side, near the portico of Agnaptus, were then removed; the horses, which stood behind them, moved forward until they arrived in a line with those to which the second rank had been allotted; the second barriers were then withdrawn, and in the same manner the others, until all (the horses) were in line at the embolus. Thenceforward all depended on the skill of the charioteers and the swiftness of the horses[1]. One side of the Hippodrome was longer than the other, and was formed by a mound of earth. Near the passage through this embankment was the Taraxippus[2]; which resembled a circular altar, and was named from the fact that the horses were seized with terror in passing it, so that chariots were often broken and charioteers were wounded. On one of the terminal pillars[3] stood a brazen statue of Hippodameia about to bind the tænia on Pelops after his victory. The other side of the Hippodrome was not a factitious mound, but

μάλιστά που μέσην· ἀετὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χαλκοῦς κεῖται, τὰ πτερὰ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτείνων. ἀνακινεῖ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ μηχάνημα ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ· ἀνακινηθέντος δέ, ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄνω πεποίηται πηδᾶν ὁ ἀετὸς, ὡς τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἐπι τὴν θέαν γενέσθαι σύνοπτος· ὁ δελφὶς δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος πίπτει. Pausan. El. post. 20, 7 (11).

[1] *διὰ πάντων τε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον συμβαίνει τῶν ἵππων ἐστ' ἂν ἐξισωθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τῆς πρώρας τὸ ἔμβολον· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἤδη καθέστηκεν ἐπίδειξις ἐπιστήμης τε ἡνιόχων καὶ ἵππων ὠκύτητος.* (13.)

[2] *Παρεχομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου παρήκουσαν ἐς πλέον τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν πλευρῶν, ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος πλευρᾶς, οὖσης χώματος, κατὰ τὴν διέξοδον τὴν διὰ τοῦ χώματος, τὸ τῶν ἵππων δεῖμα ὁ Ταραξιππος.* 8 (15).

[3] *ἐπὶ δὲ νύσσης μιᾶς,* 10 (19).

a natural hill of no great elevation. On its extremity stood the temple of Ceres Chamyne [1].

Pausanias then describes the Gymnasium and the Palæstra, and remarks, that after crossing the Cladeus occurred the Tomb of Œnomaus, a heap of earth built round with stone, and that beyond it were ruins of buildings which were said to have been the stables of the horses of Œnomaus [2].

In endeavouring to adjust the relative situations of the several places, buildings, or other monuments of Olympia by means of the description of Pausanias, we have but one given point, the Temple of Jupiter. All the rest is to be deduced from that description applied to the existing site of Olympia, of which also there may be said to be no more than one certain feature; for, although the identity of the rivers Alpheius and Cladeus cannot be questioned, their present course near Olympia may be very different from that which they followed during the ages when Olympia flourished. The most important question is the position of the Stadium, which was separated from the Hippodrome by the Stoa of Agnaptus and the Hippaphesis [3]. The Stadium and Hippodrome having together constituted the place of exhibition of all the Olympic contests, there can be little doubt that they formed a continued area from the circular

[1] *τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου μέρος οὐ χῶμα γῆς ἐστιν, ὄρος δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν· ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν πεποίηται Δήμητρι ἐπίκλησιν Χαμύνῃ.* Pausan. El. post. 21, 1. [2] 3.

[3] *Διαβάντων δὲ τὸν Κλάδεον τάφος τε Οἰνομάου γῆς χῶμα περιῳκοδομημένον λίθοις ἐστὶ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνήματος ἐρείπια οἰκοδομημάτων ἔνθα τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τοὺς ἵππους αὐλίζεσθαι λέγουσιν.* 21, 3.

end of the Stadium to the further extremity of the Hippodrome; which could only have been effected by placing the Stadium, the Hippaphesis, and the Hippodrome on one and the same axis. Supposing, for reasons which will be given hereafter, that the Hippodrome was about two stades or 1200 feet in length, this distance added to 400 for the Hippaphesis, about 150 for the Stoa of Agnaptus, and 640 for the Stadium including the semi-diameter of the level part of its circular end, will give a total distance of near 2400 feet from the cavea of the Stadium to the further end of the Hippodrome. Now the whole extent of ground from the heights on the north-eastern side of Mount Cronius to the bank of the Alpheius could not have been much greater than this distance. From this cause alone, therefore, we are obliged to place the Stadium on the eastern side of the Altis; for to the west, although with the aid of the Cladean vale, space would not be wanting, the course and direction of the river Cladeus and the position of the temple of Jupiter forbid the supposition that the Stadium and its appendages could have been on that side of the Altis. Strabo, moreover, describes the Stadium as situated in a wood of wild olives in front of the temple of Jupiter[1], which as usual faced the east, as indeed Pausanias has proved by remarking that the Pelopium was to the north of the temple of Jupiter, and to the right in entering the temple[2].

[1] *πρόκειται δ' ἄλσος ἀγριελαίων ἐν ᾧ τὸ στάδιον.* Strabo, p. 353.

[2] See above, p. 42.

Considering the necessity of placing the Stadium, Hippaphesis, and Hippodrome on the same axis, as the only hypothesis consistent with the general description of Pausanias, and considering at the same time the want of space in the vale of Olympia for these constructions in any situation except on the eastern side of Mount Cronius, there scarcely remains a doubt that the semi-circular extremity of the Stadium abutted upon the heights to the north-east of the summit of Mount Cronius. There were two entrances into the Stadium, the pompic and the secret. The latter was near the extremity of the platform which supported the Zanes or statues of Jupiter raised from fines, which platform was on the foot of Mount Cronius to the left in proceeding to the Stadium from the Metroum, a large temple in the midst of the Altis[1]. The secret entrance, therefore, was near the south-eastern foot of that hill, and near the rectilinear end of the Stadium; and as the seats of the Hellanodicæ were unquestionably near the entrance which was reserved

[1] Ἰόντι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ Στάδιον τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητρῴου, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέρας τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κρονίου, λίθου τε πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει κρηπὶς καὶ ἀναβαθμοὶ δι' αὐτῆς· πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρηπῖδι ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκειται χαλκᾶ· ταῦτα ἐποιήθη μὲν ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἐπιβληθείσης ἀθλητικῆς ζημίας ὑβρίσασιν ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα· καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες. . . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δύο τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀγάλματα. . . . . τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἐσόδου, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἕστηκεν ἐν δεξιᾷ. Pausan. El. pr. 21, 2. 6 (15).

Ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, ἃ ἀπὸ ζημίας ἐποιήσαντο ἀθλητῶν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πέρατί ἐστιν, ἣν κρυπτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἔσοδον· διὰ δὲ αὐτῆς τούς τε Ἑλλανοδίκας ἐσιέναι ἐς τὸ στάδιον καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. El. post. 20, 5 (8).

for their use and that of the Agonistæ, it is equally evident that these seats were not far from the rectilinear end of the Stadium. Two observations of Pausanias support this conclusion, and confirm the whole arrangement which is delineated in the plan: one is, that the Hippaphesis, which led into the Hippodrome, was adjacent to that part of the Stadium where the Hellanodicæ sat; the other, that the seats of the Hellanodicæ were at the extremity of the Stadium opposed to that at which the foot-race commenced, the length of that race being that of the Stadium itself, or 600 Greek feet. The Hellanodicæ were so placed probably because the situation was the best for observing all that passed in the Hippaphesis as well as in the Stadium, at the same time that it was near the end of the course of the single foot-race, the most important of all the contests; the ἄφεσις, or place of departure of the foot-racer, having been at the opposite or circular end of the Stadium, where stood the tomb of Endymion.

From the preceding considerations it will follow that the rectilinear end of the Stadium projected into the plain a little beyond the south-eastern extremity of Mount Cronius. Now, as this point was almost exactly opposite to the Pompic entrance in the western wall of the Altis, which was not far from the opisthodomus of the temple of Jupiter, we have every reason to believe that the Pompic Way, entering in the middle of the western wall of the Altis, passed near the temple of Jupiter and through the middle of the Altis into the area, which was in front of the rectilinear extremity of the Stadium. That the public entrances into Stadia were usually at that

end, might be presumed from the formation and intention of these constructions, and is sufficiently confirmed by the mode in which we find them turned with regard to the agoræ and chief buildings in Greek cities in general; of which the Stadia of Athens and Sicyon may be mentioned as furnishing examples.

If the eastern and western entrances of the Altis were situated as I have just stated, the third entrance of the Altis described by Pausanias must have been either on the northern or the southern side. But on the latter flowed the Alpheius, and allowed no direct access in that direction, unless by a bridge, of the existence of which we find no intimation; or by fording the river, which, although it may generally have been an easy operation at the season of the year in which the Olympic Games were celebrated, would have been always inconvenient for ceremonies and processions[1]. The third entrance, therefore, was doubtless on the north, where issued the Sacred Way to Elis, having a branch which led to *Letrini* and the adjoining sea-coast. This route, and that which leads up the valley of the *Alpheius* from the westward, are in fact the two natural approaches to the site of *Olympia* from every quarter but the east; and we may reasonably presume that these natural approaches have, in all ages, caused the artificial routes to follow the same direction, and that the

[1] After heavy rains the Alpheius is not easily forded; and becomes so swollen and impetuous, that there were probably not many bridges over it in ancient times. At present there is but one, namely, at Kary'tena, where the steep banks have particularly favoured the work.

points where the two existing paths cross the supposed line of the walls of the Altis, on the northern and western sides, nearly represent the two entrances in question.

The western entrance having been not far from the opisthodomus of the temple of Jupiter, it is probable that the western wall was not far from the Cladeus, that its direction was nearly parallel to the course of that river, and that the northern wall crossed the entrance of the vale of the Cladeus. Whether this wall was continued over Mount Cronius, or what portion of that mountain may have been included within it, we have no means of judging.

On the outside of the western or Pompic entrance of the Altis were the *studio* of Phidias, and, still nearer to the entrance, or perhaps within it, the Leonidæum. Very near the northern entrance, on the outside, was the Gymnasium, and within the entrance, the Prytaneium [1]. The situation of the Metroum is not very exactly designated by Pausanias; but it appears to have been near the Philippeium, and to the left of the road into the Altis, which entered near the Prytaneium. That it was near the southern foot of Mount Cronius is evident from the fact that in proceeding from the Metroum to the entrance of the Stadium, the foot of the

[1] Τὸ Πρυτανεῖον δὲ Ἠλείοις ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Ἄλτεως ἐντὸς, πεποίηται δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἣ ἐστι τοῦ γυμνασίου πέραν. Pausan. El. pr. 15, 5 (8).

Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως τὸ Μητρῶον, καὶ οἴκημα περιφερὲς ὀνομαζόμενον Φιλιππεῖον . . . . . τοῦτο τὸ οἴκημά ἐστι μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν κατὰ τὸ Πρυτανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. 20, 5 (9).

mountain was near that route on the left[1]. We have seen that the Pelopium was a square inclosure, one side of which ranged with the western front of the temple of Jupiter, and that it stood to the north of that temple at such a distance that there was space for some of those dedications, principally statues, which abounded in every part of the Altis[2]. It further appears, on considering the situation of the Pompic entrance, and the direction of the Pompic Way, that this road must have passed through the interval between the temple of Jupiter and the Pelopium. The distance between them, therefore, we may conjecture to have been not less than the breadth of the temple itself.

The Great Altar of Jupiter is described by Pausanias as equidistant from the Pelopium and from the temple of Juno, and as being in front of them both[3]. But the Pelopium fronted the west, or at least was entered on the western side[4]. On the other hand, we can scarcely doubt, from numerous examples, that such a temple as the Heræum faced eastward, and consequently that its axis was nearly parallel to that of the temple of Jupiter. If, therefore, by *πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων* we were to understand that the great altar stood in face of the proper front or entrance of both these buildings,—that is to say, the eastern end of the Heræum and the western end of the Pelopium,—it would be necessary to place the Heræum very near the bank of the Cladeus. But this is very unlikely, indeed scarcely possible, if the wall of the

[1] See p. 80, note 1. [2] See above, p. 42.

[3] *προκείμενος πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων*, Pausan. El. pr. 13, 5 (8).

[4] *ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ πρὸς ἑσπερῶν ἐστιν ἡλίου.* 13, 1.

Altis was not far from the opisthodomus of Jupiter. It is probable, therefore, that the altar was opposite to and nearly equidistant from the back-fronts of the Pelopium and Heræum; and that the Heræum stood to the north-eastward of the temple of Jupiter in the direction of the Pompic entrance of the Stadium, not far from which in fact the Heræum appears to have been, as Pausanias after noticing the altars of the Hippaphesis, the Stoa of Agnaptus, and an altar in his way from thence to the Pompic entrance of the Stadium, reenters the Altis through that entrance, and immediately describes two altars behind the Heræum [1].

The Treasuries, like the Zanes, stood on a platform at the foot of Mount Cronius, and near the Stadium. As the Zanes occupied the southern foot of the mountain, the Treasuries must have been on its eastern side; and they were probably near the circular end of the Stadium; for Pausanias describes the temples of Lucina and Venus as situated between the Treasuries and Mount Cronius, by which latter he meant, doubtless, the Sanctuary of Saturn on the summit of the mountain: he states also that those temples were on the extremity of the mountain, to the northward [2]. The temples, therefore, stood probably

[1] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς, ἣν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἀγνάπτου, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ἐπονομάζοντες τῷ οἰκοδομήματι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπανιόντι ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ βωμὸς Ἀρτέμιδος. Ἐσελθόντων δὲ αὖθις διὰ τῆς πομπικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν εἶσιν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Ἡραίου, Κλαδέου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος βωμοί. Pausan. El. pr. 15, 4 (6). It would seem from these words that Pausanias did not consider the Stadium and Hippodrome as parts of the Altis.

[2] Τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Κρόνιον, κατὰ τὰ ἤδη λελεγμένα μοι, παρὰ τὴν

on the neck which unites Mount Cronius with the heights that rise above the northern end of the Stadium, and the Treasuries still further to the northward of the summit. It will be seen on the Plan of Olympia, that the Treasuries so situated were exactly, as Pausanias says, to the north of the Heræum; the Zanes, indeed, stood nearly in a line between the two; but the Heræum, as having been the principal sacred building in the eastern part of the Altis, may have been preferred by him as a point for the purpose of indicating the situation of the Treasuries. On this supposition as to the site of the Treasuries, it will be a matter of indifference whether we read κατὰ νῶτου, or κατὰ νότου, or κατὰ νότον in the text of Pausanias[1], the mountain having been adjacent to the Treasuries, and to the south of them.

The topographical extracts from Pausanias give an approximation to the sites of some other remarkable monuments or dedications in the Altis. The Callistephanus, or wild-olive tree, which furnished the garlands of the Olympionicæ, stood before the back-front or opisthodomus of Jupiter[2]. The column

κρηπῖδα καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ παρήκει θησαυρούς. . . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ Κρονίου κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν Εἰληθυίας. . . . . πλησίον δὲ τῆς Εἰληθυίας ἐρείπια Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας ἱεροῦ λείπεται. Pausan. El. post. 20, 1—3 (1—6).

[1] Ἔστι δὲ λίθου πωρίνου κρηπὶς ἐν τῇ Ἅλτει πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ Ἡραίου· κατὰ νώτου (or νότου or νότον) δὲ αὐτῆς παρήκει τὸ Κρόνιον. El. post. 19, 1.

[2] Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἅλτει τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου περᾷν μέλλοντι ἐς ἀριστερὰν Ἀφροδίτης βωμὸς καὶ Ὡρῶν μετ' αὐτόν· κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον μάλιστά ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πεφυκὼς κότινος· καλεῖται δὲ ἐλαία

of Œnomaus was between the great altar and the eastern front of the Temple of Jupiter[1], and the Proëdria apparently at no great distance from the temple of Jupiter to the east; for Pausanias introduces the mention of it in describing the altars which occurred in proceeding to the right from the Leonidæum, beyond the Callistephanus in the direction of the Hippaphesis[2].

Of the Theecoleon, Pausanias states only that it was within the Altis, and that there was another building near it[3]; but as he notices these, in his enumeration of altars, between some altars behind the Heræum and an altar before the Prytaneium, there remains a probability that these buildings were not far from the Prytaneium in the direction of the Heræum.

The inclosure called the Hippodamium is described by Pausanias as situated near the Pompic road through the Altis[4]; and as its mention occurs immediately before his description of the Secret Entrance of the Stadium, which was adjacent to the eastern extremity of the Zanes, the Hippodamium would seem to have stood not far from the Zanes, between the Secret and the Public Entrance of the Stadium.

Xenophon alludes to a Theatre at Olympia, but

καλλιστέφανος, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια καθέστηκεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς δίδοσθαι τοὺς στεφάνους. Pausan. El. pr. 15, 3.

[1] Ἦν δὲ Οἰνομάου κίονα οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καλοῦσιν, ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ. El. pr. 20, 3 (6).

[2] El. pr. 15, 3 (4). [3] 4 (8).

[4] Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἄλτεως κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν ἔσοδον Ἱππο-δάμιον καλούμενον. El. post. 20, 4 (7).

Pausanias says not a word of any such construction; a discrepancy the more remarkable when we consider the great care which Pausanias bestowed on the examination and description of this place; and on the other hand, that Xenophon resided more than twenty years within three miles of Olympia[1], and that there certainly existed a theatre at Delphi, at the Isthmus, and at other sites of great agonistic games. A Theatre must have been useful on various occasions, arising from the assembling of a great number of persons from all parts of Greece, as well as for *music* (as contrasted to gymnastic) contests, and in the ceremonies which preceded the contests or followed the victories[2]. It is not likely that θεάτρου has erroneously found admission into the text of Xenophon instead of σταδίου, because the Stadium is mentioned on other occasions by the same writer as having been the chief place of the Olympic contests[3]. The positive testimony, therefore, of Xenophon may be admitted in proof of the existence of a theatre at the time of which he treats; and we may infer perhaps from the silence of Pausanias, whose visit to Olympia occurred no less than five centuries later,

[1] Xenophon received his estate at Scillus from the Lacedæmonians in the year 392 B.C., being then about fifty-two years of age, and was deprived of it by the Eleians soon after the battle of Leuctra, B.C. 371. He then retired to Corinth, where he probably resided during the remainder of his life, although he had been recalled from exile by the Athenians before the battle of Mantineia (B.C. 362), in which his son Gryllus was slain.

[2] It would seem from Lucian (Herodot. 1.) that the Opisthodomus of the Temple of Jupiter was the place where authors recited their works.

[3] Hellen. 1, 2, § 1; 4, 1, § 19.

that music contests having ceased long before his time, the theatre had fallen to ruin, and that its materials may even have been applied to other purposes. Its situation, probably, was in that hollow which is observable in the western side of Mount Cronius; for the Prytaneium, which was near the adjacent entrance of the Altis, contained the Sanctuary of Vesta, and the Sanctuary of Vesta, according to Xenophon, was adjacent to the theatre [1].

The situation of the Buleuterium or Council-house, and of the Stoa Pœcile, may also receive some light from the same passage in Xenophon. It occurs in his narrative of the battle in the Altis between the Eleians and Arcadians, which interrupted the celebration of the 104th Olympiad (B. C. 364), and presented to the spectators who had assembled to witness the ordinary gymnastic exhibitions, a contest of a still more interesting kind [2]. The Arcadians were superintending the games in conjunction with the Pisatæ, when the Eleians, having marched from Elis, made their appearance beyond the Cladaus at the moment when, the races of the Pentathlum and Hippodrome having been concluded, the wrestlers were contending, not in the usual place, the Stadium, but between it and the Great Altar, protected by the Arcadians, who, aided by 2000 Argive infantry and 400 Athenian cavalry, were drawn up along the left bank of the Cladaus [3].

[1] See p. 90, n. 1.

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. 7, 4, § 28 seq. Diodor. 15, 78.

[3] *τὴν μὲν ἱπποδρομίαν ἤδη ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου· οἱ δ' εἰς πάλην ἀφικόμενοι, οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπάλαιον. οἱ γὰρ Ἠλεῖοι παρῆσαν*

The Eleians, after sacrificing, attacked their opponents and caused them to retreat into the space between the Council-house, the Temple of Vesta, and the adjoining Theatre; and, still pressing upon them, drove them at length as far as the Great Altar. But here the Eleians were assailed at once with missiles from the porticoes and the Council-house and the great temple; and having lost, among others, Stratolas, commander of the three hundred, they retired to their camp [1]. These circumstances seem to place the Buleuterium near the Prytaneium on that side of it which was towards the Temple of Jupiter and the Stoæ, one of which was probably the Pœcile, otherwise called the Stoa of the Echo [2].

The Stoa of Agnaptus was adjacent to the widest part of the Hippaphesis [3], or that opposed to the Embolus, which was the immediate entrance into the Hippodrome. The Stoa of Agnaptus occupied, therefore, the space, or a part of the space, between the rectilinear end of the Stadium and the Hippa-

ἤδη σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὸ τέμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκαδες πορρώτερω μὲν οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, ὃς παρὰ τὴν Ἄλτιν καταῤῥέων εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐμβάλλει. Xen. Hell. 7, 4, § 29.

[1] Ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρου, ἐμάχοντο μὲν οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ ἐώθουν πρὸς τὸν βωμόν· ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν στοῶν τε καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ βαλλόμενοι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ μαχόμενοι, ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄλλοι τε τῶν Ἠλείων καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἄρχων Στρατόλας· τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ αὐτῶν στρατόπεδον. § 31.

[2] Pausan. El. pr. 21, 7 (17). See p. 43.

[3] See above, p. 76.

phesis, having probably been intended to afford a refuge from the rain and sun to those who were in the Stadium or in the open part of the Hippaphesis; for we know from some existing examples, especially that of the Stadium of Messene, that stadia were sometimes, if not generally, furnished with porticoes, in the same manner as theatres were in general. There may be some question whether there was a continuous Stoa across the rectilinear end of the Stadium, or whether a vacancy was left in the middle, so as to furnish an unity of level area and an uninterrupted view from the northern end of the Stadium to the southern end of the Hippodrome. The latter is the more likely conjecture of the two, and possibly the Stoa of Agnaptus was confined to the eastern side, the corresponding space on the west, in which was the Pompic entrance into the Stadium from the Altis, having perhaps been adorned with a colonnade, and constructed, as usual among the Greeks, with a view to decoration as well as utility, in such a manner as to have formed a symmetrical counterpart to the Stoa of Agnaptus on the eastern side. Such a similarity in the two sides is the more probable, as an entrance in the eastern side, corresponding to the Pompic entrance from the Altis, seems to have been required for the convenience of persons entering the Stadium and Hippaphesis from the east. An argument in favour of the supposition that the Stoa of Agnaptus was confined to the eastern side, is, that Pausanias notices an altar on the left hand *between* the Stoa of Agnaptus and the Pompic entrance into

the Stadium, which seems to imply that there was an interval between them.

The Hippaphesis consisted of an ὕπαιθρον or open space [1], having a row of οἰκήματα or closed apartments (in Latin *carceres*) on either side of it; in these stood the contending horses and chariots previously to the contest. The sides of the Hippaphesis converging towards the opening through which the competitors entered the Hippodrome, the whole construction was likened to the prow of a ship, whence the opening was called the embolus or beak. The οἰκήματα were necessary receptacles for the chariots and horses of the competitors, serving to separate them, until the moment, when the signal having been given by the rising of the eagle, and the falling of the dolphin, the carceres were opened, the horses or cars were in an instant ranged behind the several barriers, these with equal rapidity were successively withdrawn [2]: and the victory belonged to him who was the first to complete the circuit or the repeated circuits of the Hippodrome, after having rounded the terminal pillars as closely as possible without touching them. In effecting this, in avoiding collision with his competitors, or in oversetting them with as little injury as possible to his own chariot, the skill of the charioteer chiefly consisted.

[1] Ἐν δὲ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἀφέσει, ἐν μὲν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀφέσεως κατὰ μέσον που μάλιστα, Ποσειδῶνος Ἱππίου καὶ Ἥρας εἰσὶν Ἱππίας βωμοί· πρὸς δὲ τῷ κίονι, Διοσκούρων. Pausan. El. pr. 15, 4 (5).

The column here incidentally mentioned, was probably the καρὼν or hollow column upon which there was a dolphin, and which stood in the Embolus. See above, p. 76.

[2] See p. 76. In the races of the Roman Circus there were no

As the chariot-race of Olympia was the relict of an ancient custom connected with the obsolete practice of employing chariots in war, we may derive, perhaps, from Homer's description of the races at Troy, the most correct idea of the mode of making the circuit of the hippodrome. The advice of

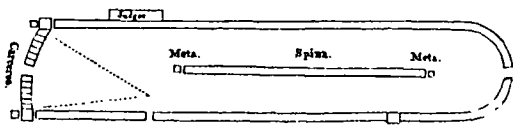
barriers between the carceres and the course. No allusion is made to them by the many Latin authors who mention the carceres;

(Nonne vides subito patefactus tempore puncto
Carceribus non posse tamen prorumpere equorum
Vim cupidam tam de subito quàm mens avet ipsa.
Lucret. de R. Nat. 2, 263.

Ut cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
Instat equis auriga. Horat. Serm. 1, 1. 114.

V. et Virgil, Georg. 1. ad fin. 3, 104. Æn. 5, 145; Ovid. Trist. 5, 12, 26; Cicer. Brut. sive de Clar. Orat. 47; Varro de Ling. Latin. 4.) and Pausanias sufficiently shows, that there was a difference between the Olympian and Roman methods by the words, καλώδιον ἀντὶ ὕσπληγγος (see p. 76, n. 2), the ὕσπληγξ appearing, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to have been an instrument, by means of which, in the Roman circus, all the carceres were opened simultaneously (διὰ μιᾶς ὕσπληγγος πάσας ἀνοιγομένας, Dionys. 3, 68). The ruins of the Circus of Romulus, son of Maxentius, at Rome, show the manner in which the Carceres were built, for the purpose of placing them all at an equal distance from the entrance of the course.

CIRCUS OF ROMULUS.



The disregard to symmetry here shown in the construction of the carceres is again observable in that of the Spina, which, instead of

Nestor to his son Antilochus proves that the great object was to round the terminus as nearly as possible without touching it, thereby obliging the rival chariot either to make a larger circuit, or to follow in the same line; Nestor, by desiring his son to keep at the same time to the left of his competitors, shows that the direction taken on starting was to the right; and this was the direction followed in the Roman Circus.

The *Curriculum*, or course of the Hippodrome, was four stades in circuit[1], and we may infer from

being parallel to the sides of the Circus, is so inclined as to give a greater width to the entrance, than to the exit of the course. Of the mode in which the corresponding part of the Olympian Hippodrome was constructed, Pausanias has not left us any intimation; nor with respect to the position of the judges at Olympia, though there can scarcely be a doubt that they were placed as in the Circus, opposite to the termination of the course.

[1] This fact appears from Pausanias, El. post. 16, 3 (4), where he informs us that among the statues of Olympic victors in the Altis was that of Aristeides of Elis, who had gained the prize for running the single stade in armour at Olympia, and for running the diaulus or double stade at Delphi: an epigram on his statue recorded also that he had gained the boys' prize at Nemea for running the horse-course, a distance of two diauli or double stades: *Ἀριστείδῃ δὲ Ἠλείῳ γενέσθαι μὲν ὅπλου νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ διαύλου Πυθοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δηλοῖ, Νεμείων τε ἐν παισὶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἱππίῳ. Δρόμου δέ εἰσι τοῦ ἱππίου μῆκος μὲν δίαυλοι δύο.* Mr. Mure, in his interesting Journal of a Tour in Greece, (ii. p. 327.) applies the word *μῆκος* in this passage, not to the circuit or length of course, but to the length of the construction or inclosure or area of the race-course, in which case the curriculum itself would have been a distance of nine or ten stades. But it seems quite sufficient to the glory of Aristeides that he had surpassed his competitors in a race quadruple in distance to that of the men who gained the highest prize in the Stadium. In another

Pausanias that its area was oblong, or similar in form to that of the Stadium, deprived of its theatre-shaped end; though, probably, it was not so narrow in proportion to its length as the corresponding part of the Stadium. Its oblong figure may be deduced from

passage of Pausanias, cited by Barthélemy, (Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, c. 38.) for the purpose of proving that the Hippodrome of Olympia was two stades in length, the Greek traveller states that such was the length of a hippodrome which Trajan built, together with an amphitheatre at Rome (*θέατρον μέγα κυκλοτερὲς παντα χόθεν καὶ οἰκοδόμημα ἐς ἵππων δρόμους, προῆκον καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίων μῆκος*. El. pr. 12, 4 (6). Here it is obvious that *μῆκος* refers to the construction, and not to the curriculum or circuit; and in like manner we shall find, that if we make the curriculum at Olympia four stades, the length of the area will be about two. It is true we learn from two grammarians that the Athenians had a race-course of eight stades in the plain of Athens, (*Ἐν Ἐχελιδῶν· τόπος Ἀθήνησιν σταδίων ὀκτὼ ἐν ᾧ ἱπποδρομίαι*. Etym. M. in v. See also Hesychius in *ἵππειος δρόμος*, and *Ἐν Ἐχελιδῶν*,) but this is no proof as to the ordinary distance performed in the horse or chariot races of the Greeks. It shows only that the Athenians had a race-course which gave them the means of running the ordinary distance as an *ἄκαμπτος δρόμος*, or of performing in one circuit the distance which in other hippodromes required the double circuit; for we know that although the usual distance run was two diauli or four stades, it was often multiplied (Pindar, Ol. 3, 59; Ol. 6, 124). According to Suidas (in *Δόλιχος*) the *δόλιχος δρόμος* was twenty-four stades, or three times the circuit of the Attic, and six times that of the Olympic course. From the ordinary length of the horse-course was derived the word Hippicum, as synonymous with four stades (*τὸ δὲ ἱππικὸν διάστημα τεσσάρων ἦν σταδίων*, Plutarch, Solon, 23). It was a law of Solon that no person should make use of a well from which his dwelling was more distant than a hippicum. This could have been no other than a direct distance. Upon the whole, therefore, it is clear that Pausanias by *δρόμου τοῦ ἱππίου μῆκος* meant the length of the circuit of the Hippodrome at Olympia, and not the length of the area.

the description which Pausanias gives of its πλευραὶ or sides, and of the position of the altar of Taraxippus, which was situated near a διέξοδος, or opening leading out of the Hippodrome through its longer side; this difference of length in the two sides being explained by his remark, that the longer was an artificial mound of earth, and the shorter a natural height[1]. Whence it is evident that the two πλευραὶ intended by him were the two opposite sides parallel to the axis of the Hippodrome; and that the side on which the Embolus opened into the Hippodrome, as well as the opposite extremity, near which was one or more of the νύσσαι or terminal pillars, was shorter than the artificial side, so that the inclosed space, supposing a prolongation of the natural height to the same length as the artificial height, would have been an oblong square.

The altar called Taraxippus, or the terrifier of horses, a name which was supposed by Pausanias to be an ἐπίκλησις or epithet of Neptune Hippius, stood near an opening in the longer or artificial side of the Hippodrome. At the Isthmus, as well as at Nemea, there was a similar δεῖμα τῶν ἵππων: at the former it was an altar of Glaucus son of Sisyphus; at Nemea a red stone answered the same purpose[2]. The intention, perhaps, of these impediments was to increase the difficulty of those who contended for the prize, by requiring the greatest docility as well as swiftness in their horses, and consequently a more perfect training. The sound of trumpets was

[1] See above, p. 78, n. 1.

[2] At Delphi the horses were said to be frightened without any apparent cause. Pausan. Phocic. 37, 4.

another accompaniment of the race calculated to terrify the horses[1]. Pausanias states that the Nemean obstacle was at the bending of the course[2], which leads one to believe that the Taraxippus of Olympia, as well as the διέξοδος or passage through the embankment, was situated towards the further or southern extremity of the Hippodrome.

The inequality of the two πλευραὶ or parallel long sides of the Hippodrome may, perhaps, be thus explained: no inclosure having been necessary, the heights on either side of the course served principally the purpose of providing a convenient place for the spectators to view the races, such as was afforded by Stadia, although they were not, like stadia, furnished with seats of stone. If then there was sufficient space for this purpose without prolonging both sides to the extremity, there was no motive for doing so but that of symmetry, which it appears was not regarded. Some accommodation was necessary for viewing the part of the course most distant from the Embolus, because here the charioteers performed the most difficult part of their art in driving round the terminal pillar or pillars; here likewise occurred the obstacle which terrified the horses. On one of the two sides, therefore, it was necessary to prolong the lateral height, and this prolongation was made probably on the same side on which stood the Taraxippus, as a nearer view of the effect of that object upon the horses would thus be afforded. The short side of the Hippodrome, opposite to

[1] Pausan. El. post. 13, 5 (9).

[2] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἵππων τὴν καμπήν, 20, 9 (19).

the Embolus, required no construction for the purposes of the races; but it was defended perhaps by masonry on the margin of the river from the effects of inundations, which disturbing power supplies another argument in favour of the supposition that the longer πλευρὰ or side of the Hippodrome was the eastern, because on that side it was most necessary to guard against the effect of currents and inundations.

In any endeavour which may hereafter be made, by excavating on the site of Olympia, to discover remains of its buildings, or of the other works of ancient art which the Altis contained, it will be necessary to advert to the changeable nature of the ground, peculiarly exposed as it is to inundation and the alluvion of a river remarkable for its occasional impetuosity. Nearly in front or to the east of the temple of Jupiter, at the distance of about 130 yards, are the ruins of an ancient building, formed of bricks and mortar, and consisting of arches and chambers, one of which was octagonal. These remains are embedded on one side in an earthy cliff, which they now seem to support [1]. Upon further examination, we trace this cliff or bank through the whole extent of the *Olympian* valley from where the *Alpheius* approaches nearest to the temple of Jupiter, as far eastward as the hill which I have supposed to have been the site of *Pisa*. It is thus one of the most remarkable features in the

[1] Several other remains of brick buildings are found on either side of the site of the Altis, both to the north and south. One of these has been shown by the French Commission to be the remains of a church.

topography of Olympia. This bank, at the ruin above mentioned, is about twenty-five feet high, and perpendicular; in other places it varies both in height and abruptness, but scarcely anywhere is higher than at that ruin. It thus separates an upper level of the Olympian valley, on which stood the temple of Jupiter, and probably all the other public buildings, from a lower, adjacent to the river, where formerly was the Hippodrome. It seems evidently to have been at one time the bank of the Alpheius itself, which river, like all rapid streams in alluvial valleys, is continually changing its course, and at one period had advanced northward as far as this bank, from which it again retired, and has thus left in process of time an intermediate plain of a lower level between itself and the remains of the Altis. The ruin of brick to the south-east of the temple of Jupiter marks the extent at that point of the river's encroachments, which further to the westward appear to have approached still nearer to the temple. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that in the course of the last fifteen centuries all the south-eastern extremity of the Altis has been destroyed by the river, and consequently that all the remains of buildings and monuments in that part of the Sacred Grove have been buried beneath the new alluvial plain, or carried into the river. That the latter has really happened is proved by the helmets and other ancient monuments of brass, which have been found in the bed of the Alpheius[1], and on some

[1] Fauvel saw broken sarcophagi on the point of falling into the river, and possessed a helmet of bronze which had been found there.—Stanhope's Olympia, p. 14.

of which are inscriptions, showing that they were dedications in the Altis[1].

To the same active agent of destruction we may attribute perhaps the disappearance of the artificial embankment of the Hippodrome, and even of the natural height which formed the shorter side. Pluvial action has produced another change in the surface of the Olympian valley. While the currents of inundations from the river have often suddenly removed soil from one place to deposit it in another, thereby effecting a continual change in the plain, as well as in the course of the river itself, the waters of the Cladeus and of the Cronian ridges have been slowly but constantly raising all that part of the upper level which has remained unmoved by the river; as becomes instantly manifest on viewing the foundations of the temple of Jupiter, the pavement of which is now some feet below the natural surface. This elevation of the upper level we may presume to have been in progress from the earliest time. During the ten centuries which had elapsed between the first Olympiad and the visit of Pausanias to Olympia, it appears from his narrative to have produced a visible effect. He tells us, that being present at an excavation of the ground very near the column of Œnomaus, where a Roman senator was about to erect a brazen statue of himself, in memory of a victory which he had gained in the games, he saw fragments of armour, bridles,

[1] For example, the three following in the British Museum:— 1. The Eleian Tablet. 2. The Helmet dedicated to Jupiter, by Hieron, son of Deinomenes of Syracuse. 3. Another Helmet inscribed to Jupiter.

and bits[1] extracted from the ground by the labourers.

The elevation of soil around the temple of Jupiter has probably caused the Cladeus in the lower part of its course to take a more westerly line than it did in ancient time. Its tendency to this direction was very apparent in the year 1813, at which time it turned at a right angle to the west, a little above its junction with the Alpheius, and formed a large peninsula[2]. Sixteen years afterwards, when the French Commission of Architecture surveyed the site of Olympia, the peninsula had vanished, the Cladeus joined the Alpheius by a much more direct course, and the next *reach* of the latter river in ascending to the eastward had advanced northward into the middle of the lower level[3].

To the disturbance of the upper level, and the changes in its surface caused by pluvial action, and by the deposits from Mount Cronius and the adjacent ridges, we may attribute, perhaps, the disappearance of the Stadium, its ancient area having been so much elevated, and its χῶμα γῆς or artificial mounds so much altered, as to render the heights now occupying its site no longer to be recognized with certainty as having ever belonged to a stadium:

[1] ὅπλων καὶ χαλινῶν καὶ ψαλίων θραύσματα, Pausan. El. pr. 20, 4 (8).

[2] In the year 1813, Messrs. Spencer Stanhope and Allason surveyed the site of Olympia; and the result of their observations was published by Mr. Stanhope in his 'Olympia,' folio, London, 1824.

[3] These changes have been shown on the Plan of Olympia, which accompanies this volume.

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and thus while there is good reason to believe that the surface of the soil where the area of the Stadium formerly existed is now higher, and that the site of the Hippodrome is now lower, than those situations were in ancient times, there is nothing to prevent us from believing, that during the ages when the Altis, and every thing belonging to it, was an object of unremitting attention, and when walls and embankments preserved all the land between Mount Cronius and the Alpheius from the effects of torrents and inundations, the plain may have extended at the same elevation, from Mount Cronius to the Alpheius, and that the interior platform of the Stadium, Hippaphesis, and Hippodrome may have been all upon an uniform level.

From the description of Olympia by Pausanias we obtain a certainty that in the latter part of the second century of the Christian æra, there still remained at that place, notwithstanding the spoliations of Nero and some other emperors, all the principal buildings with their external decorations, as well as a large portion of the dedications within them; and that besides these the Sacred Grove still contained more than three hundred figures made by the greatest masters of the best ages of Grecian art. Those of minor value, which Pausanias has not particularized, were still more numerous, if we may accept the testimony of Pliny[1], who says there

[1] In M. Scauri ædilitate tria millia signorum in scenâ tantum fuere temporario theatro. Mummius devictâ Achaiâ replevit urbem . . . . . Multa et Luculli invexere. Rhodi etiamnum tria millia signorum esse Mucianus ter consul prodidit, nec pauciora

were not less than 3000 statues at Olympia, since it is scarcely credible that during the century which had elapsed between the times of Pliny and Pausanias, the less valuable should have been carried away, when the more celebrated remained [1].

Although Pausanias does not always connect the word χαλκὸς or brazen with the ἄγαλμα or εἰκὼν described by him, that epithet may always be understood, unless when he expressly states that the statue is of marble or some other material; for there can be little or no doubt that in all such works brass was the substance most commonly employed by the great artists of Greece at the time when the greater part of the works at Olympia, described by Pausanias, were made. The same observation will apply to Greek cities in general, whether in Greece proper, or in Asia, or in Sicily, or in Italy, including Tyrrhenia [2]. When it is considered that of

Athenis, Olympiæ, Delphis superesse creduntur.—Plin. H. N. 34, 7 (17).

[1] Some suspicion, however, may attach to the number stated by Pliny, which is obviously a vague computation. He assigns the same number of statues to Athens; but in that city, besides the public buildings, every house of the better sort contained statues, and had one or more before the door: at Athens, therefore, such a large number is not incredible; but it seems difficult to believe that they could have amounted to so many at Olympia, notwithstanding its having contained, in the time of Pliny, the accumulation of 210 Olympiads.

[2] The Tyrrhenians or Etruscans were in old times noted for their works in brass; their statues in the time of Pliny were widely dispersed in the Roman world: Signa Tuscanica per terras dispersa, quæ in Etruria factitata non est dubium.—H. N. 34, 7 (6).

the immense number of brazen statues, which had accumulated in all these countries in the course of ages, none have been discovered, except such as had been buried by convulsions of nature, or some other cause of sudden ruin, or such as had been hidden, to protect them from plunder, we may safely ascribe the destruction of the larger brass statues (the smaller more easily escaped) to some common cause operating in every part of the Roman empire. And this cause could have been no other than the ignorance and insecurity which accompanied the decline of the Roman empire, the gradual extinction of Paganism, and with it the cessation of all respect for such productions of art, either as sacred or beautiful; soon followed by Christian persecution, the authors of which were not displeased to find the objects of their hostility possessing a considerable metallic value. When such a feeling became general, and when Christianity became the religion of government, a few years may have sufficed to convert all the best monuments of an art which had required ages to be brought to perfection, and which we have hitherto tried in vain to imitate, into objects of common utility; and we may still, perhaps, have the materials of some of those works in the form of the hideous coinage of Constantine and his successors.

It cannot be supposed that ultimately the brazen statues of Olympia escaped the fate common to such images throughout the Roman world; although the Sacred Grove had remained uninjured during the times when a Verres could clear a city

of all its statues in one day[1], although it had suffered little from the momentary violation by a Nero or Caligula of the general security which had dated from the establishment of the empire, and although we may readily believe that some respect was shown to the monuments of this place as long as the Olympian πανήγυρις or quadrennial meeting lasted, which did not cease until the reign of Theodosius[2]. But soon afterwards, the monuments of Olympia in general, both in brass and marble, could hardly have escaped the common destruction. Some of them, however, may have been thrown down and involved in the ruins of buildings, and may have escaped notice, protected by the depopulation of Peloponnesus, and the secluded position of Olympia, until the peculiar liability of this place to natural changes may have caused some of the remaining works of sculpture to be buried under the surface of the soil; and these may still remain, together with many monuments valuable to archæology, of which the Sacred Grove had been a place of deposit.

[1] Cicero in Verr. act. 2. l. 1. c. 20.

[2] The Emperor Julian and the Sophist Themistius have been cited to prove that the Jupiter of Phidias at Olympia, as well as his Minerva at Athens, were still in their places in the reign of Julian, or about A. D. 360. But if the Jupiter or the Minerva had been still in existence when Julian resided in Greece, he would hardly have failed to leave some clearer testimony of the fact than such ambiguous allusions as occur in the second Oration of the Emperor (p. 54. Lipsiæ, 1696) and in his eighth Epistle (p. 377 A.), and which are equally applicable to their former existence. As to Themistius, (Orat. 25. p. 310 A. Paris, 1684. Orat. 27. p. 337 B. Epist. 1052. p. 497.) although he assumes the existence of the two statues, his declamations differ too little from mere scholastic exercises, to be admitted as a proof of the fact.

The total disappearance of such large and solid buildings as those of Olympia, is chiefly to be attributed here, as on other ancient sites, to their value as materials for modern constructions. Their removal to the mouth of the *Alpheius*, or to the shore of the *Letrinæa*, was unfortunately not difficult; so that a portion of them may have been employed in buildings in various parts of the coasts of Greece. But the people of the modern villages of the *Eleia*, and of the towns of Pyrgo and Lala, were those probably who chiefly worked this choice mine of building materials; and which was the more valuable, as quarries of stone are more rare in the *Eleia* than in other parts of Greece. At Lala, in particular, where, during the last century, a colony of Mahometan Albanians, secure in the strength of their arms and position, had created a town of some magnitude, there was a long-continued demand of materials for the palaces of four opulent chieftains; and this cause had so entirely destroyed all the remains of *Olympia*, that when I was there in 1805, one of the agás of Lala had been lately engaged in excavating the site of the temple of Jupiter for the purpose of carrying away its foundations; the building itself, with the exception of a few fragments, having been entirely removed [1].

[1] When Chandler visited Olympia in 1766, a small portion of the Olympium was still standing. "There remained," he says, "the walls of the cell of a very large temple, standing many feet high and well built, the stones all injured and manifesting the labour of persons who had endeavoured, by boring, to get at the metal with which they were cemented. From a massive capital remaining, it was collected that the edifice had been of the Doric order." Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 76.

We may confidently expect that excavations will be undertaken by the Greeks, whenever they shall be sufficiently recovered from the deplorable state of poverty in which they were left at the end of their struggle to throw off the Turkish yoke; for, even in the time of their greatest political depression, they proved themselves promoters of education, desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the works of their accomplished ancestors, and ambitious of rendering that knowledge conducive to their own restoration to the civilized world. Nor have the hopes conceived of them in a servile condition been disappointed by their liberation. At Athens, the excavation of the Acropolis, and the discovery therein of some of the monuments described by Pausanias, the exhumation and re-construction of the temple of Victory, the clearing of the Propylæa, the Collections deposited in the Parthenon and Theseium, the publication of a great number of Inscriptions newly-discovered, have shown what may be accomplished by the most limited means, when a national feeling is carried into effect by individual intelligence and activity, although meeting with very little encouragement from the constituted authorities. It is no more than an act of justice to compare these unassisted exertions of the Greeks in archæology with those of a Government which has never been deficient in power or pecuniary resources, which has been in undisturbed possession for centuries of a country second only to Greece as the ancient abode of art and literature; who are masters of the sites of Syracuse, Taras, Metapontum, Selinus, and Agrigentum, but, above all, of Pompeii and

Herculaneum, which having been preserved by a convulsion of nature in the exact state in which they existed in the reign of Titus, gave hopes that the losses sustained by literature from the influence of northern barbarians, or from the ferocious Arabs at Alexandria, might yet in great measure be repaired. But no such hopes have been realized. The excavations at Pompeii, though continually rewarded by interesting discoveries, have proceeded at the most tardy pace, while the excavators of Herculaneum, instead of being encouraged by the discovery of near seventeen hundred ancient volumes, have from that time suspended their labours entirely. At the end of ninety years, the public is not yet fully informed of the contents of such of those ancient books as have been found legible; nor is it certain that there are not, among those still unexamined, some that might make amends for the disappointment which the specimens already published have undeniably occasioned.

VOL. i. p. 54.

In 1835 General Gordon visited the caverns here mentioned and the place where the river *Anigrus* joins the lake of Khaiáffa: the river had an offensive smell; and in one of the caverns he found water distilling from the rock, and bringing with it a pure yellow sulphur. The natives have an idea that their monóxyla, the only boats in use on the lake, would be drawn down under the rocks by a current, if they were to approach the caverns.

VOL. i. p. 60.

In the following words of Strabo (p. 344), Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Λεπρέου καὶ τοῦ Ἀνίγρου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Σαμίου Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν, ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἑκατέρου διέχον, if we were to substitute Ἀλφειοῦ for Ἀνίγρου the distances would be correct, and there would be no necessity for supposing another temple of Neptune Samius near the site of Pylus Triphyliacus; for, although temples of Neptune on the promontories were frequent in this district[1], it is not likely that more than one was distinguished by the epithet Samius. The village Tjorbadjí, on the western extremity of Mount *Minthe*, at the fork of two branches of the river of Ai Sídhero, seems to agree in every respect with Strabo's description of Pylus Triphyliacus.

VOL. i. p. 68.

In consequence of the imperfection of the text of Strabo, no very confident opinion can be entertained as to the ancient names of the rivers of *Triphylia*. As the text now stands, he seems in one place to favour the identity of the Acidon with the Acydas of Pausanias, which was a branch of the Anigrus, and consequently flowed into the marsh of Khaiáffa; in another, he appears to identify the *Acidon* with

[1] Μεστὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα Ἀρτεμισίων τε καὶ Ἀφροδισίων καὶ Νυμφαίων ἐν ἄλσεσιν ἀνθέων ὡς τὸ πολὺ διὰ τὴν εὐυδρίαν· συχνὰ δὲ καὶ Ἑρμεῖα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, Ποσείδια δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς. Strabo, p. 343.

the river of Strovítzi. If we adopt the former opinion, the probability will follow that the river of St. Isidore was not the *Amathus*, but the *Acidon*. As some change may always be presumed to have taken place in the course of sixteen or eighteen centuries at the mouth of rivers on alluvial shores, the river of St. Isidore may, in the time of Strabo and Pausanias, have joined the *Anigrus* in the marsh of Khaiáffa, instead of flowing, as it now does, separately into the sea.

VOL. i. p. 85.

Mantineia is 630 metres or 2067 feet above the level of the sea, according to the barometrical measurements of the French Commission of Geography.

VOL. i. p. 94.

"The second temple of Minerva Alea at Tegea having been burnt in the last year of the 96th Olympiad, B. C. 392 (*lege* 395), the Tegeatæ employed Scopas of Parus to build a third."

This remark was an interpretation of the following passage in Pausanias[1], Τεγεάταις δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἀλέας τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποίησεν Ἀλεός· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατεσκευάσαντο οἱ Τεγεᾶται τῇ Θεῷ ναὸν μεγὰν καὶ θέας ἄξιον· ἐκεῖνο (*al.* ἐκεῖνον) μὲν δὴ πῦρ ἠφά-

[1] Arcad. 45, 3 (4).

νισεν, ἐπινεμηθὲν ἐξαίφνης, Διοφάντου παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος, ὑστέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἕκτης καὶ ἐννενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Εὐπόλεμος Ἠλεῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. Ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πολὺ δή τι τῶν ναῶν, ὅσοι τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις εἰσὶν, ἐς κατασκευὴν προέχει τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἐς μέγεθος.

There may be some doubt, however, whether there were three successive temples: if there were no more than two, the building consumed by fire was the ancient temple built by Aleus: if there were three, it was the large temple which replaced the structure of Aleus. In support of the latter supposition, there is great appearance of an intended distinction between ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, &c., and the ναὸς μέγας καὶ θέας ἄξιος which succeeded the ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον. But in that case Pausanias would have employed τοῦτον and not ἐκεῖνον in referring to the temple which was burnt; at the same time that ἐκεῖνο (supposing that to be the true reading) is precisely the word required, if the temple burnt was the ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν. The date of the burning of the temple agrees perfectly with the time in which Scopas began to flourish; but the archonship of Diophantus occurred in the second not the last year of the 96th Olympiad, and hence it has been supposed that ὑστέρῳ is an error for δευτέρῳ.

Vol. i. p. 104.

It is here stated that Mantineia had ten gates. I have seen a plan of the ruins, taken on the spot, in which there are no more than nine. This dis-

crepancy is accounted for by the ruined state of one part of the inclosure, which leaves a doubt whether there was originally a gate in this part or not. If the number of gates was nine, we may suppose the gates of Methydrium and Helisson to have been one and the same; and the road to Helisson to have branched to the left from that to Methydrium. The remaining eight gates would then have led,—1. to Mænalus; 2. to Pallantium; 3. to Tegea; 4. to Hysiæ; 5. to Argos, by Prinus; 6. to Argos, by Climax, with a branch to Orneæ and Phlius; 7. to Orchomenus; 8. to Nasi and Cleitor. The numerous roads branching from Mantineia seem to be alluded to in the Delphic oracle directing the bones of Arcas to be removed from Mænalus to Mantineia, which is described as

ἄστυ ἐρανὸν
Οὗ τρίοδος καὶ τετράοδος καὶ πεντεκέλυθος [1].

Vol. i. p. 121.

The Saranda-potamó is here described as disappearing under the rocks to the right of the road, about five miles to the south of *Tegea*. Gell has a similar observation in his 'Itinerary of the Morea,' (p. 230,) where he describes the same road in the opposite direction. He says, that at one hour nineteen minutes to the northward of the Krya Vrysi, and thirty minutes from the *débouché* into the plain of Tegea, "the glen contracts, and the river (Saránda) sinks into the ground. The mountains

[1] Ap. Pausan. Arcad. 9, 2 (4).

become lower, and the road is in the bed of a torrent,—a pass between rocks." It is certain, however, that the Saránda, or at least its main body, is not lost at that place, but issues from the end of its rocky glen into the plain of *Tegea*, and, turning to the right, is joined by the *Gareates*, or river of Dhulianá, beyond which junction the united stream winds in an easterly direction through the plain of *Corythus*, and enters a katavóthra at the foot of Mount *Parthenius* near Persová. Probably, therefore, the sinking of this river into the earth, seen by Gell, and heard of by myself, is nothing more than a subterraneous course of the river in its own bed, —an occurrence not uncommon where streams flow rapidly in narrow rocky ravines.

There can be no doubt that the Saránda is the *Alpheius* of Pausanias. There is no other river in this part of the road from *Tegea* to *Sparta*. The reputed fountain-head of the *Alpheius* accords perfectly with the source at Krya Vrysi, and the *Symbola* is recognized at the junction of a stream which is formed of several small mountain-torrents a little below Krya Vrysi; while the latter spot, as well in its distance from *Tegea* as in its position at the ascent of the heights, which on the other side fall to *Laconia*, is perfectly suited to the situation of *Phylace*, the frontier demus of the Tegeatæ on this side, and indicating by its name a fortress for the protection of the pass. We may further remark, that the river of Vúrvura, which joins the waters of Krya Vrysi at the *Symbola*, was well adapted to be the boundary-line of two states lying north and south of each other, its course being nearly from east to west.

But if the accuracy of Pausanias is thus far justified by a view of the places, a great difficulty occurs on following the Saránda into the plain of *Tegea.* Pausanias states that the Alpheius descends into the earth in the Tegeatic plain, and re-appears in that of Asea, where, after joining the Eurotas, it descends a second time into the earth: the Saránda may indeed be said to descend into the earth in the *Tegeatic* plain, inasmuch as the *Corythenses* were a demus of *Tegea;* the plain, therefore, through which it flows to the katavóthra of Persová, may be considered as a branch of the *Tegeatic;* but its easterly course through that plain clearly indicates a subsequent subterraneous course to the eastward, or in a direction exactly opposed to the *Aseatis.* There seems but one mode of solving this difficulty, namely, by supposing that anciently the Saránda or *Alpheius,* on entering the *Tegeatic* plain, instead of joining the *Gareates* in a north-easterly direction, flowed to the marsh of Taki in a north-westerly. In a plain exposed to inundations, and by nature furnished only with drainage through the mountains; where accumulation of soil by alluvion would often change the course of waters; where artificial means for the same end, such as canals and embankments, must often have been employed; and where, as we learn from history [1], streams were, from various motives, often diverted from one district to another, such a conjecture as to the ancient course of the Saránda is any thing but improbable. And two remarks may be made in

[1] Thucyd. 5, 65. Xenoph. Hell. 5, 2, § 4.

favour of it. One is, that the ravine of the Saránda for the last two or three miles has a north-westerly direction in approaching the *Tegeatic* plain: the other is, that the magnitude of the katavóthra of Taki is disproportioned to the diminutive streams which now flow into it, and seems adapted to a larger river. The motive for diverting the *Alpheius* into the *Gareates* may be found in the effect such a diversion would have in diminishing the marshy land in the *Manthuric* and *Asæan* plains, although increasing it in the *Corythic*. Possibly the *Corythic zerethra* were more capable of carrying off a stream of water than the *Manthuric*. Their emissary at least could injure no one; if, as there is good reason for believing, that emissary is at Anávolo, the ancient *Deine*, where a large body of fresh water rises in the sea, a quarter of a mile from the shore, and two or three miles to the northward of Astró on the *Argolic* coast.

VOL. i. p. 157.

The ancient bridge at Sparta over the Trypiótiko, which river I suppose to have been the ancient *Cnacion* (Κνακίων)[1], has not been noticed by the French Commission. Possibly it no longer exists, having been destroyed perhaps for the sake of its materials,

[1] Tr. in Morea, i. p. 181.

Tzetzes on the words of Lycophron (v. 550), Κνηκείου πόρος, supposes the Cnacion to have been the same river afterwards called Œnus; but if Aristotle was right in describing Babyca as a bridge over the Eurotas, the supposition of Tzetzes cannot be correct, as no part of Sparta could have been included between the bridge of the *Eurotas* and the river *Œnus*, now the

together with the remains of an ancient causeway which I observed at either end of it; for, constructed as it was in the most simple and massive manner of the ancients, consisting only of a few blocks of stone of the same length as the breadth of the bridge, and forming a Roman arch of small elevation[1], it could hardly have yielded to decay in so short an interval, after having resisted the effects of at least eighteen centuries.

There are some remains also of an arched bridge over the Eurotas, nearly opposite to the centre of Sparta. It seems to be nearly, if not exactly in the situation of the bridge over the Eurotas mentioned by Xenophon[2]; but the arch alone and the facing of the walls having been of large stones, and the remainder of small and rude materials, the whole work has greatly the appearance of having been a work of the Roman empire; which is the more likely, as the neighbouring ruins of a small circular amphitheatre, and the great number of inscriptions, found on the site of Sparta, of the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era, indicate that the city was at that time in a flourishing state, although its authority was then confined to a portion of the interior of Laconia. The same consideration renders it doubtful whether the bridge near Xeró-

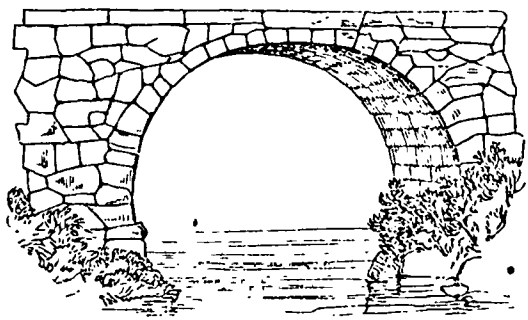
Kelefína, which is distant more than a mile to the north of *Sparta*.

[1] Gell observed it and has thus described it: "South of the city of Sparta is a bridge of one arch, of large uncemented blocks, over the Tiasus (*l.* Cnacion), a river coming from a place called Trupia." Itin. of the Morea, p. 222.

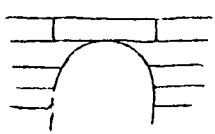
[2] Xenoph. Hellen. 6, 5, § 27.

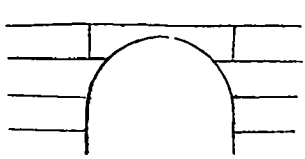
kambo, towards the southern extremity of the Spartan plain, be not of Roman times, the masonry of the walls being, indeed, of the polygonal species, but not of a very massy kind.

Bridge near Xerókambo, from Mure's Journal of a Tour in Greece, ii. p. 248.



On the whole, therefore, these three Laconian bridges will not assist much in determining the question as to the time at which the Greeks began to employ the arch, as those who adhere to the opinion, that the concentric arch was not known to the Greeks before the time of Alexander the Great, will consider all these bridges as posterior to that time. And in favour of that opinion, the admission may be made, that in those numerous ruins of fortresses or small fortified towns, both in Greece and Italy, in which Pelasgic masonry is commonly found, and which had ceased to flourish before the time of Alexander, the arch was generally constructed not by means of the mutual support of segments of wedges having edges shaped to a common centre, but by the shaping of courses of masonry to a curve: thus,





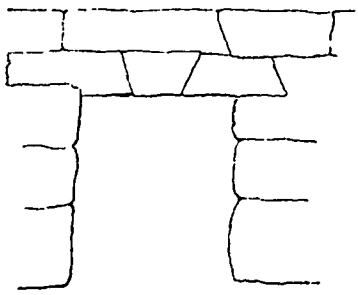
Or when a larger opening was required, in this manner. So that it would not be too strong an assumption, at least for the sake of obtaining a convenient distinction, to give the name of Greek arch to the arch thus constructed, and to consider the arch formed on the concentric principle as the Roman arch.

The only example of a *Greek arch* of which there is any approach to certainty as to the date, is that of the bridge of Mavrozúmeno over the *Balyra*, near the ruins of *Messene*. Enough of this arch remains to show that it was constructed by a shaping of horizontal courses to a curved form, as in the preceding figures, though the upper part is not sufficiently preserved to show in which of those two manners it was completed. The masonry of this structure resembles that of the walls of Messene; and its situation at the distance of three miles from the principal gate of that city, at a junction of two rivers, where also was a bifurcation of one of the principal roads from the city, shows that it was an appendage of Messene, and probably coeval with its walls, or built about thirty years before the reign of Alexander. But this is a solitary example of any thing like an approximation to a date sufficiently accurate to assist an enquiry which has assumed a chronological form. It is therefore from a more extensive view and more general considerations, that any conclusion on this question is to be drawn.

There is ample evidence that the Etruscans, and

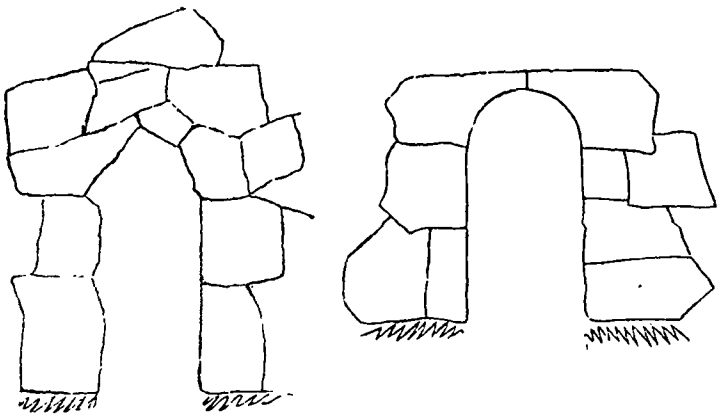
their pupils the Romans, employed the arch long before the age of Alexander.

If therefore the Greeks were at that time ignorant of the arch, we are to suppose that about the middle of the fourth century before the Christian era, an increased communication with Italy caused its introduction into Greece. But, that communication had been incessant from the time of the eighth century B. C., when colonies were settled on the shores of southern and middle Italy as well as in Etruria; and it had existed still more anciently, when the Pelasgi introduced letters into Italy, and all those arts and customs the similarity of which in Etruria, Greece, and Italy are unquestionable evidences of a common origin; and which origin letters alone sufficiently prove to have been oriental with respect to Italy. It could not, therefore, have been from want of communication with Italy, that the Greeks were ignorant of the arch. But in truth it seems impossible for any people, however uninstructed, to make much progress in architecture, employing stone for their materials, without a knowledge of the arch, which originated in the observation that two stones might be made to lean against each other so as to admit of a passage between them and to bear a weight above them. The entrance of the Great Pyramid at Ghizeh is thus covered; and in Greece a similar construction in remains of an age not much less remote than that of the pyramids is still to be seen at Tiryns and at Delus. The addition of an intermediate or key-stone formed the arch. The same principle might be applied to the lintel of a door, as

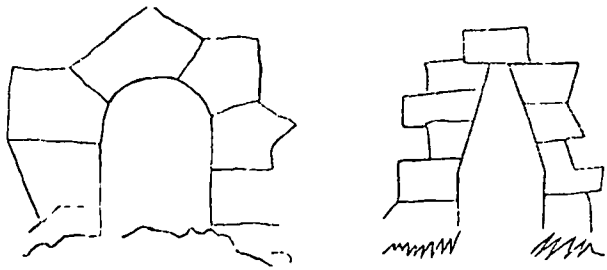


occurs at Methana: when greater height was desirable, a curve would be resorted to. Of such arches formed of three stones, and more or less rudely formed, examples occur in some of the Pelasgic fortresses of Greece, as well as in those of perfectly similar construction which are to be seen in great numbers in middle Italy. And all these primitive varieties are found in the Round Towers of Ireland, or in the very ancient churches attached to them [1].

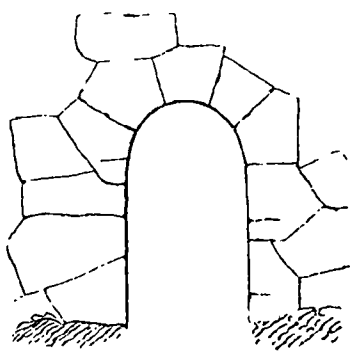
Acarnania is the part of Greece in which arches are now most frequently to be seen. In some instances they are formed of courses hollowed into the form of an arch; in others, of stones having oblique edges, yet not meeting in a common centre. The annexed figures represent various doorways, found in ruins of Acarnanian cities.

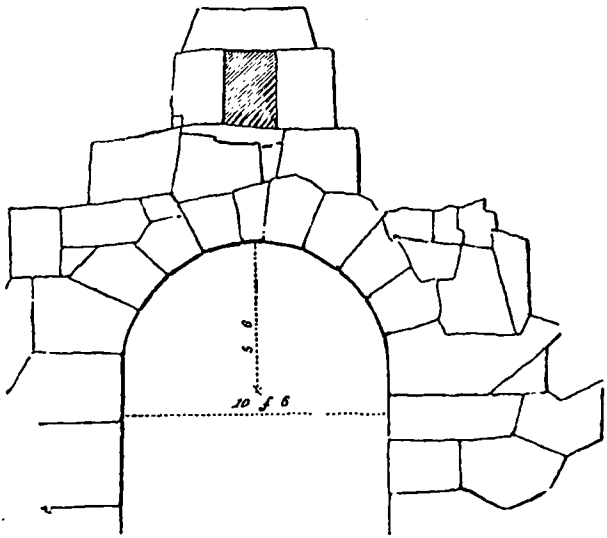


[1] See the engravings in Mr. Petrie's recent work on the Round Towers of Ireland. Trans. of the R. Irish Academy, vol. xx.



At Œnia, or the city of the Œniadæ, which, like all the second-rate cities of Greece, flourished chiefly before the time of Alexander the Great, and where the masonry of the ancient walls is, for the most part, of the Pelasgic or polygonal kind, there occurs a very regular arch of five, and another of nine wedge-shaped stones, united on the principle of the Roman arch. Even in these arches, however, the stones are not of equal size, nor do their edges converge very exactly to a centre.





The latter arch was part of one of the principal gates of the city, leading at a very small distance to the shore of the great lake or marsh anciently named Melite, which served as a seaport to the Œniadæ by means of a river which drained the lake into the sea, and was navigable almost up to the walls. This arch has a span of $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and was pierced obliquely through a wall 10 feet in thickness. It led probably through a vestibule serving for a guard-house to another arched door in the exterior face of the walls, which is no longer in existence; the whole thus resembling, except in the obliquity of the passage, the arched gateway at Volterra in *Tyrrhenia*[1]. It seems evident from these various examples, that the Greek

[1] See Micali, Monumenti Inediti, plates 7, 8. At the gate of Megalopolis at Messene, the intermediate space was a circular court 62 feet in diameter. Tr. in Morea, i. p. 372.

architects were not unacquainted with the Roman arch, although they did not always employ it; but diversified their modes of covering doorways according to circumstances, such as the required height and width of the passage, or the nature of the materials.

The strong confederacy of the Tyrrhenian or Etruscan cities and their well-ordered governments had, in very remote times, conducted that people to a greater degree of opulence and civilization than any others in Italy had then attained. After expelling the Pelasgi they had continued to cultivate the arts and mythology derived from that people, and had applied the Pelasgic or Greek alphabet to their own language, which was totally different from the Greek. These sciences, with the retention of some national customs and religious doctrines, naturally led to a school of art,—which, although resembling that of Greece in almost all its features, may still be distinguished from it, unless in some Etruscan productions of art, which may have been executed after the arrival of the Greek colonies which settled in Etruria and the more southern parts of Italy, in the eighth century before the Christian era; and which caused the Greek language to become that of learning and civilization in all the maritime as well as in some of the interior parts of Italy, until the application of the Greek alphabet to the Latin, the cultivation of the latter language, and the extension of Roman power, combined to substitute Latin for Greek.

In Italy there are undoubtedly now to be found a greater number of *Roman* arches, which may

safely be attributed to an age prior to that of Alexander, than in Greece. Those of the gates of *Volaterræ*, *Perusia*, and *Ferentinum* may particularly be mentioned; and those of the bridges of *Vulci*, *Cora*, and *Terracina*; but whether this circumstance is to be attributed to the accidental preservation of a greater number of the larger gates and bridges than has happened in Greece, or to the superiority in opulence of the Etrurian cities over those of Greece in the first two or three centuries of Rome, when Etruria chiefly flourished, there would be some difficulty in forming an opinion. It is obvious that the arch would be more accurately constructed as wider openings in walls became necessary, or as wider rivers were to be bridged.

In Greece Proper, the stone was in general admirably adapted to architraves; and hence probably it happens, that it is much more common in the ruins of Greece to meet with gateways surmounted with lintels than with arches: the gate of Megalopolis at Messene had a lintel 18 feet in length, which still remains. The Etruscans and Romans, on the other hand, may not have possessed quarries equally capable of furnishing beams of so great a length, and they may thus have been compelled to a more frequent employment of the arch, as well as to that more correct construction of it which a greater number of smaller wedges would render necessary. From the few remaining arches of Greece, which are held together upon the so-called principle of the arch, it would seem that the solidity of the construction and the strength of the materials rendered it a matter of indifference with the architect whether

the junctures of the stones were exactly shaped to a centre or not. At Volterra in Etruria, on the contrary, we find a very ancient gateway which, although less than 13 feet in width, is covered with an arch of 19 segments of wedges, all equal, and shaped correctly to a common centre.

At the time when the Greeks employed polygonal masonry, their arch seems to have borne the same relation to that masonry, which the correctly concentric arch bears to the masonry of equal courses. In such solid masonry the arch was very seldom required; but to deny to the Greek architects of those times a knowledge of the arch, because it is seldom found in that kind of masonry, would be almost equivalent to the assertion, that they knew not how to construct a wall of parallel courses, because they more commonly fitted irregular masses to one another. At the same time, it may not be inconsistent to admit, that in the most flourishing ages of Etruria, the arch may have been more frequently used, and more correctly constructed, than it was at that time in Greece; although even on this question, or indeed in deducing any general comparative conclusion on Greek and Etrurian architecture, there can be no absolute certainty, on account of the want of a sufficient variety of architectural examples, either in Etruria, or in Hellas itself, or in the Greek cities of Asia. It may not be unworthy of remark, however, with a view to this question, that in Asiatic Greece, where arts and letters made an earlier progress than on the western shores of the Ægæan sea, the arch of concentric wedges is found in the ruins of the Doric city of

Cnidus in Caria, in a wall which is probably more ancient than the age of Alexander.

Some recent discoveries at Athens serve to show that we ought to be cautious in questioning the knowledge of the Greeks in any branch of the fine arts, but especially in architecture. Those discoveries prove, indeed, that we are still far from being acquainted with the principles upon which they proceeded in arriving at their admirable results. I have adverted to these discoveries in the 'Topography of Athens' (2nd edit. p. 573). On the present occasion it will be sufficient to observe that there was scarcely a right line in the Parthenon; that while the platform of the columns was convex, or depressed at the four angles, the columns themselves, which taper in a curved line from the base to the capital, were inclined inwards towards the centre of the building; the effect of which has been, that the modern Athenians, in endeavouring to replace some of the subverted columns, have found that not one of the component cylinders would fit any but its original place in the particular column of which it had formed a part. There is reason to believe, from a passage in one of the Verrine orations of Cicero, that this inclination of the peristyle from the perpendicular was common in the temples of Rome as well as of Greece. Verres had fixed upon an orphan son of P. Junius as a fit subject of extortion, because the young man, in succeeding to his father's property, had incurred the liability of keeping the temple of Castor at Rome in repair. Verres accordingly, in his capacity of prætor, visited that temple, in hopes of finding it in want of some repairs, for which he

intended to exact large sums from Junius. But he found the temple so entirely in order, that he was at a loss how to proceed in his design, when one of his "dogs," as he was accustomed to call his followers, suggested to him that he might order Junius to make the columns perpendicular. "Tu Verres," said the *dog*, "hic quod moliare nihil habes, nisi forte vis ad perpendiculum columnas exigere. Homo omnium rerum imperitus quærit, quid sit ad perpendiculum. Dicunt ei fere nullam esse columnam quæ ad perpendiculum esse possit. Nam mehercule, inquit, sic agamus, columnæ ad perpendiculum exigantur." The operation was performed accordingly by some very simple mechanical process, and with scarcely any new materials. Nevertheless, the contractor of the work having been named by Verres himself, six times the requisite expense was extorted from Junius, by which he was totally ruined [1].

And yet it would seem that neither the inclination of columns, nor their entasis or curved diminution, were known to Vitruvius. By him entasis is described as the swelling which is made in the middle of a column: "adjectio quæ adjicitur in mediis columnis." In another place he says, "acuminis proprium est providere ad naturam loci aut usum aut speciem (i. e. visum), detractionibus vel adjectionibus temperaturas efficere, uti cum de symmetriâ sit detractum aut dejectum aliquid, id videatur recte esse formatum, in aspectuque nihil desideretur." In like manner Heliodorus (or Damianus), of Larissa, observes that in scene-painting a column will appear

[1] Cicer. in Verr. Act. 2. l. 1. c. 50 seq.

narrow in the middle unless it be enlarged in the representation[1]. The entasis of Vitruvius, therefore, was very different from that of the Greeks, in which the diminution, although in a curve line, is constant from the base to the capital. At the same time there is a great probability that among the Greeks the entasis of columns, as well as the other deviations from right lines, which are instanced in the Parthenon, and will probably be found in other Greek temples when sufficiently examined, were, as Vitruvius states with reference to the "adjectio in mediis columnis," compensations for certain optical deceptions; though it is also not unlikely that the inward inclination of the columns of the peristyle of the Parthenon may have been partly intended to give greater resistance to the outward pressure of the roof, and an increased stability to the entire edifice, in a country liable to earthquakes, the effects of which the Parthenon, when destroyed by gunpowder, had thus resisted during 2124 years.

But if entasis as defined by Vitruvius is inapplicable to Greek columns, another precept of his, founded upon the same principle of providing for the deceptions of vision, is in a remarkable degree confirmed and exemplified by existing remains of Greek architecture. The angular columns of peristyles in all the Greek temples which have been measured with sufficient correctness are found to be, as he directs, larger than the others; and in some the excess is very nearly in the proportion which he mentions, namely, a fiftieth: "Angulares

[1] Vitruv. 3, 3; 6, 2. edit. Schneider, ii. p. 198, 427.

columnæ crassiores faciendæ sunt ex suo diametro quinquagesimâ parte, quod eæ ab aëre circumcidun-tur et graciliores esse videntur aspicientibus. Ergo quod oculos fallit, ratiocinatione est exæquandum[1]." In the temple of Segesta, the angular columns are 6 feet 8·4 inches in diameter; the others are 6. 6·9; the excess therefore is $\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{3}}$rd. In the great temple of Pæstum the angular columns are 7. 0·03; the others, 6. 10·35, difference $\frac{1}{4\frac{1}{9}}$th. In the Theseium and Parthenon the excess was greater; in the former a thirty-sixth, in the latter a forty-third. Other examples occur in the work of Vitruvius, which prove that in some instances he had accurately derived his information from the great Greek authorities whose names he has preserved. The examples, however, are not less numerous of his disagreement with the extant monuments of Greek architecture; a circumstance which, combined with the style of some parts of his work more resembling the Latin of the age of Diocletian than of Augustus, leads strongly to the suspicion that we possess no more than parts of the original work of Vitruvius, blended with productions of a later age.

Vol. i. p. 187.

It is here stated, that "the absence of any remains of churches at Sparta, and the antiquity of

[1] It is said to be an acknowledged fact among builders, that if a long line, seen against the sky, such as the roof of a barn, be not made to rise in the middle, it will appear hollow.

some of those at Mistrá, prove that the episcopal see was at a very early period of Christianity established at the latter place."

Mr. Mure (ii. p. 336, note) denies "the absence of churches at Sparta" from his own observation, and he is confirmed by the Expédition Scientifique de la Morée, ii. p. 64, where six ruined churches are noticed as existing on the site of Sparta, and are laid down in the accompanying plans. Indeed, one church may be found on my own plan of Sparta. The remark above-cited, therefore, is not correct, but it ought not to be separated from the argument, of which it forms a part; namely, that the episcopal see of Lacedæmon was at an early time transferred to Mistrá.

When Sparta was abandoned as the chief town of Laconia, the people dwelling in detached villages on its site, and the inhabitants of the fortress or walled town which lingered for some centuries on its heights with a diminishing population, would naturally, as Christianity prevailed, convert some of the Pagan buildings into churches. Accordingly, all the churches appear to have been of this kind, unless it be one or two of the smallest and most modern, which have been built for the use of the villages now standing on the site of Sparta.

The exact time of the removal of the episcopal see cannot easily be ascertained. The first notice which occurs of the bishopric of Lacedæmonia is in the reign of Leo the philosopher, at the end of the ninth century, at which time the Sclavonic invasions of the Moréa had ceased, and that people were either blended with the Greeks or were

settled in peaceable, or at least self-governing communities in various parts of the peninsula. But they were much less powerful and numerous here than in the north of Greece, where, in the ninth century, Lychnidus or Achris became the residence of a Bulgarian monarch, and the see of a Greek archbishop. The fact of the bishopric of Sparta having at that early time assumed the name of the province [1], instead of Lacedæmon or Sparta, affords a suspicion that even then the see had been removed from the ancient city to Mistrá.

An inscription in hexameter verses, upon a fountain at Mistrá, copied by M. Trezel, to which M. Lebas, in his remarks upon it, attributes a date of the ninth century, would lend some support to this opinion if that date were certain [2]. But the first letter belonging to the date is obliterated, and we are left in uncertainty whether the year of the world was intended or that of the Christian era, whether 6300 of the world or 1300 of the Christian era was the century in which the fountain was erected. The former mode of reckoning time was that usually employed by the Greeks; indeed, so much so, that in almost every other part of the empire of Constantinople, it would have been safe, on a lapidary monument of the time of that empire, to restore the first letter with the sign indicating 6000. But there is a difference in this respect in the Moréa, where Frank customs were already common in the 13th century. M. Lebas,

[1] τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας.

[2] Expédition Scientifique de la Morée, ii. p. 79.

in objecting to so late a date as the 14th century for this inscription, says, "Comment supposer que la langue poétique eût aussi peu souffert, quand nous voyons par la Chronique de Morée (written in the 14th century) combien la langue vulgaire elle-même avait été altérée[1]?" But men have never been entirely wanting in Greece with sufficient learning and ability to write Hellenic verses; in proof of which may be adduced the iambics of the church of St. Luke of Stiris[2], and those of the church of St. Demetrius at Salonika[3], to which many short effusions of the same kind might be added. Krevatás, the name of the constructor of the fountain, is that of a family of Mistrá, either still existing or very recently extinct. It is much more likely that the name should be traceable to the 14th than to the 9th century.

One of the most remarkable features of Mistrá is the deserted and ruined quarter a little below the castle on the north-eastern side, which I have described in Travels in the Morea, i. p. 130. It is distinguished by the name of Kastro, the two other divisions of Mistrá being known by the names of Misokhóri and Katokhóri. M. Bory de St. Vincent regards Kastro as the Myzithrá of Villehardouin; but the handsome church which, although situated a little lower on the hill, certainly be-

[1] This is a great mistake on the part of M. Lebas, as will be seen hereafter; but he shares it with M. Buchon, the editor of the Chronicle. See Notice sur la Chronique Anonyme de Morée, p. iv.

[2] Chandler, Inscr. Ant. p. 38.

[3] Leake's Tr. in N. Greece, iii. p. 242.

longed, as he remarks, to Kastro, serves to disprove that opinion; for this church is Greek, as evidently appears from its construction and the Greek paintings still visible on its walls. It formed part of a monastery, which, although it was abandoned when I visited Mistrá, was well known to the metropolitan bishop and other Greeks to have been dedicated to the Virgin or Panaghía, with the epithet of ἡ Χρυσοπαντάνοσα. Had the French princes constructed a church when in possession of Mistrá, it would probably have been of Gothic architecture, like those which they built at Karítena and on the left bank of the *Alpheius*, opposite to the mouth of the *Erymanthus*[1]. Among the ruins of Kastro, I remarked also those of a large building, which was believed by the Greeks of Mistrá, and probably with reason, to have been the palace of the Greek despot, who reigned in this part of the Moréa from the middle of the 13th to the middle of the 15th century.

Zosimus, in relating the capture of Sparta by Alaric in the year 396, says, that it was then neither defended by men nor walls, having been reduced to this wretched condition by the avarice and oppression of those who had governed it under the Romans[2]. In the sixth century Justinian found all the cities of

[1] See Tr. in Morea, ii. p. 87.

[2] καὶ αὕτη δὲ ἡ Σπάρτη συναπήγετο τῇ κοινῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἁλώσει, μήτε ὅπλοις ἔτι μήτε ἀνδράσι μαχίμοις τετειχισμένη διὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλεονεξίαν, ἀλλ' ἄρχουσιν ἐκδεδομένη προδόταις καὶ τῇ τῶν κρατούντων ἡδονῇ προθύμως ὑπηρετουμένοις εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς κοινὸν ὄλεθρον φέροντα. Zosim. 5, 6.

Peloponnesus unprotected, and the only fortifications which he raised were at Corinth and the Isthmus. After the Gothic invasion circumstances were not likely to have given the Spartans the means of improving the defences of their town; the consequence of which, in a naturally weak and exposed position, would be the rapid withdrawing of its population into more secure places. Nevertheless, we learn to a certainty from the 'Chronique de Morée,' that when the Franks of the principality of Achaia reduced this part of the Moréa in the thirteenth century, they found a fortress at *Sparta*, remains of which are still to be seen on the heights around the theatre. But it appears to have been in bad condition, as well as weak in position; for William de Villehardouin, when he had taken Monemvasía, immediately looked out for a strong place on which to build a fortress, and selected the hill of Mistrá [1], which he continued to occupy until the year 1262, when it was ceded to the emperor Michael Palæologus, as part of the ransom of William, who, in the year 1259, had been defeated and made prisoner by the Greeks in *Macedonia*. *Sparta*, always called Λακεδαιμονία in the 'Chronique de Morée,' remained in possession of the

[1] Καὶ ὅσαν ἐγύρισε καλὰ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα ὅλα
Εὗρε βουνὶν παράξενον, ἀπόκομμα εἰς ὄρος,
Ἄνωθεν Λακεδαιμονιᾶς κανένα μίλλι πλέον·
Ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄρεσε πολλὰ νὰ πήσῃ δυναμάριν·
Ὥρισεν, ἄνω εἰς τὸ βουνὶν ἔκτισαν ἕνα κάστρον,
Καὶ Μιζιθρᾶ τ' ὠνόμασε καὶ οὕτως καὶ τὸ λέγουν.
Chronique de Morée, page 73.

Franks during the greater part of the 13th century, but they never regained Mistrá. The words of the anonymous poet, taken literally, tend to the persuasion that Mistrá, or Mizithrá, was not an inhabited place when William built his castle; but this is very unlikely, and indeed is contradicted by Dorótheos, Bishop of Monemvasía, whose Chronicle, first published in 1684, contains a short account of the same events which form the subject of the poem. Dorótheos says expressly, that William named his castle Mizithrá, because the place was so called [1]. He describes it, more correctly than the poet, as *two* miles distant from the site of *Sparta*, which, in his time, was deserted [2]. M. Zinkeisen, author of a history of Greece, has endeavoured to prove that Mizithrá is a Sclavonic name; but even, in that case, it is probably nothing more than a Sclavonic form given to a name already existing, which name I still believe to have been Messe, or at least a Greek corruption of that word [3].

The "Chronicle of the Moréa" is an anonymous poem, consisting of upwards of 8000 lines of Romaic-Greek in the ordinary accentual verse of fifteen syllables [4]. Its existence in MS. in the Royal

[1] διότι ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἔτζη ἐλέγετο Μιζηθρᾶς. Doroth. ap. Buchon. Notice, p. xxx.

[2] σήμερον εἶναι ἔρημος.

[3] Tr. in Morea, iii. p. 5, note 6.

[4] The πολιτικοὶ στίχοι, so called as having been invented at Constantinople. Whether there was any other Greek metre on the accentual principle in the middle ages is uncertain: no specimen has reached us. Nor is it certain at what time the versus politici first came into use. In the twelfth century they

Library of Paris has been known for more than 150 years by means of the Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Græcitatis of Ducange, many of whose words were derived solely from this work, and who has frequently cited entire passages from it. Ducange was desirous of editing it, but died soon after the publication of his Glossary. Boivin, the editor of Nicephorus Gregoras, announced a similar intention, which was frustrated by the same cause; and it was not until the year 1840 that the literary world was indebted to Mr. J. A. C. Buchon for the entire text of the Chronicle, accompanied by a French translation and notes. The title of this specimen of Greek poetry of the 14th century is Χρονικὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥωμανίᾳ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ Μορέᾳ πολεμῶν τῶν Φράγκων. It is

had become so popular, that Constantine Manasses wrote in this measure his Σύνοψις Χρονική, and John Tzetzes his Chiliads, both composed in Hellenic; though the latter shows that he yielded unwillingly to the vulgar taste, by his complaint in iambics at the commencement of his book, entitled Ἄλφα Τζετζικῶν πονημάτων. It is remarkable that this measure, although seldom, if ever, found in the poetry of other modern European nations, was common in the earliest English poetry, and has continued to be a favourite with us in compositions of particular kinds. The only difference is, that instead of fifteen syllables with an accent on the penultimate syllable, the English measure is of fourteen, with an accent on the last syllable. Rhyme, which is found in the earliest specimens of English verse, appears to have been adopted by the Greeks in a later age from the Italians, as it is not found before the time when the Venetians in Crete, the Genoese at Constantinople and elsewhere, and other Italians in several parts of the islands and continent of Greece, had introduced many of their customs, and when the greater part of the Romaic poetry consisted of translations or imitations of Italian romances.

divided into two books, very unequal in length, the second containing nearly six times as many verses as the first, which is no more than a brief record of the crusades, from the pilgrimage to Jerusalem of Peter the hermit, to the alliance of Michael Palæologus with the Genoese against the French and Venetians, and the retreat of Baldwin II. from Constantinople in 1261. The second book, entitled Χρονικὰ τῆς Μωρέας, relates the transactions of the French in the Moréa during the greater part of the 13th century. With a view to illustrate the geography of the Moréa in that age, I shall briefly state the events related by the poet.

On the 1st of May, 1205, William de Champlitte landed at Akhaïa, a village on the site of the ancient Olenus, about fifteen miles distant from Patra. Having entered the town of Patra without difficulty, its citadel surrendered to him. From thence the French marched to Andravídha, then the chief town of the *Eleia;* Ghastúni, which was afterwards named from some chieftain of the name of Gaston, not then existing, unless perhaps as a small village under some other denomination. From Andravídha they proceeded to occupy Vostítza, and, accompanied by their ships, advanced from thence to Corinth, where they were joined by Boniface, king of Thessalonica, and Geoffroy de Villehardouin, nephew of the historian. Lower Corinth was fortified, but yielded after a short resistance. Not so the Acrocorinthus, held by Leon Sguros, who, as soon as the French had quitted Corinth for Argos, descended by night and recaptured the town of Corinth. The French, who had penetrated into the town of Argos, immediately

returned to Corinth, and Boniface retraced his steps to Saloníka, but Geoffroy remained with Champlitte, and became his maréchal [1]. Despairing of any further progress in the conquest of the Moréa in that quarter, the French returned to Andravídha, and were more successful in a southerly direction. They met with little resistance at Pondikókastro; and although they failed for the present at Arkadkía, easily reduced Mothóni, Koróni, and Kalamáta. Not far from the latter town, at the vineyards of Kónduro, near Kapsíkia, they, with 700 men, attacked 4000 Greeks, who had assembled from Nikli, Veligósti, and *Sparta*, and from the mountainous region of Melingús and Lakkus [2], which lies between those places and Kalamáta. The Franks gained a complete victory; and taking advantage of it, attacked and reduced Arkadhía. William de Champlitte now returned to France, having succeeded, on the death of his elder brother, to the county of Cham-

[1] πρωτοστράτωρ.

[2] ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ Μελιγγοῦ was at that time the name of Mount Taygetus, as appears still more clearly from the Chronicle of Bishop Dorótheos. The Sclavonians seem to have had settlements on the eastern side of the mountain, as Mistrá commanded the pass which led immediately to their possessions in Melingús. All the southern part of the ζυγὸς, quite to Cape Matapán, was inhabited by the Maniátes, whose language and names of places show that they are aboriginal Greeks with little mixture. The λάκκοι (ditches) were probably some of the deep ravines of the same mountainous region; for this word seems to have had no reference to *Laconia*, which name, throughout this poem, is preserved in its corrupted form of Tzakonía, and is applied specifically to the eastern portion of *Laconia*, where the name still remains, though confined to the north-eastern extremity, where alone the Tzakonic dialect is now spoken.

pagne. Before his departure he appointed Geoffroy to be his bailli[1] and liege[2], preserving to himself the sovereignty, but allowing Geoffroy to keep it if he should not send a successor within a year and a day. He appointed also a commission of ten, of which Geoffroy was the head, to divide their conquest into fiefs[3], to be awarded to the several chieftains, and he bestowed upon Geoffroy in perpetuity[4] Kalamáta, Arkadhía, and their dependencies. The other lordships were Patra, Vostítza, Kalávryta, Khalandrítza, A'khova, Karítena, Veligósti, Nikli, Gheráki, Grítzena, and Passavá. The bishops were of Patræ, of O'lena (residing at Andravídha), of Mothóni, Koróni, Veligósti, Amyclæ, and Lacedæmonia. The three principal lordships were A'khova, Karítena, and Patra: these had more than twenty fiefs each; the others had from four to twelve. The military orders of the Hospital and Temple, as well as the Teutonic order, had each four fiefs, and each of the bishops as many, except the Bishop of Patræ, who, as a Metropolitan, had eight. The *Assisæ* of the kingdom of Jerusalem were adopted as the code of laws. The Chronicle has described the wise and prudent measures of Geoffroy, and his conciliatory conduct towards the natives during the year which succeeded the departure of William de Champlitte, who, not until eight months after his return to Champagne, nominated his cousin Robert to the sovereignty of the Moréa. The journey of the latter was so much delayed by the snow of the

[1] μπάϊλος. [2] λίζιος.

[3] Written φέη, φίε, φέα, φύα.

[4] δίδω σε νὰ ἔχῃς γονικόν σου, p. 46.

Alps, and by impediments purposely thrown in his way at Venice and Corfú at the instance of Geoffroy, that, although he left Champagne in November, he did not arrive at Glaréntza on the coast of *Elis* until within a few days of the term beyond which Geoffroy was not to be removed from the sovereignty. On hearing of Robert's approach, Geoffroy retired from Andravídha to Vlisíri, near the mouth of the *Alpheius*, and before Robert could reach that place, had removed to Kalamáta; and thus Robert was obliged to follow Geoffroy to Veligósti, to Nikli, and finally to Sparta, a distance of 250 miles, retarded at each place by a pretended difficulty in finding horses for him.

At Sparta at length Geoffroy received Robert when the term had expired; and here, supported by the interest which a year's able government had created in his favour, he found little difficulty in obliging the Champlitte to give up his claims and return to Champagne. Geoffroy was succeeded about the year 1221 by his son Geoffroy II., who confirmed his authority by a manœuvre not less daring and successful than that of his father. The niece of Robert de Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, having anchored with two imperial galleys at Pondidókastro, not far from Andravídha, on her way to Spain as the affianced bride of the king of Arragon, Geoffroy arrested the galleys, employed the bishop of O'lena to persuade her to accept Geoffroy for a husband instead of the distant and unknown Spaniard; and then prevailed upon the emperor to pardon him, by engaging to become, like the Lord of Athens, the emperor's liege, and liable, as such, to afford him assistance in war.

An amicable meeting of the two parties took place at Lárissa, at which the emperor gave Geoffroy the Cyclades as a nuptial present [1], acknowledged him a prince [2], and conferred upon him the rank of Great Domestic of Romania, with the right of coining money [3].

One of the first measures of Geoffroy on returning to the Moréa, was to build a fortress at Khlemútzi, a position which defended Glaréntza, the chief harbour of the Franks, and that by which they maintained their communication with the Adriatic and Western Europe. Khlemútzi served also as a citadel to Andravídha, the ordinary residence of the princes of Achaia, where they built a Latin church, and where they were buried.

Nothing further is recorded of Geoffroy II., who died without an heir about 1245, leaving the sovereignty to his brother William, who reigned about thirty-three years. In the beginning he was fortunate, having wrested from the Greeks the fortresses of Corinth, Argos, Anápli, and Monemvasía,—partly by the assistance of the Venetian navy, for which service they received the fortresses of Mothóni and Koróni; those of Argos and Anapli, William gave to the Megas Kyrios of Athens [4]. He subdued also the Sclavonians of Skurta (near Karítena) and

[1] *διὰ δωρεὰν καὶ προῖκα*

Ὅλην τὴν Δωδεκάνησον, p. 63.

[2] *πρίγκιπας*. He was before no more than *αὐθέντης*, seigneur.

[3] *τὸ χαραγειὸν τῶν τουρνεσιῶν μετὰ τῶν δηναρίων*. Livres tournois, and deniers. Page 64.

[4] According to Bishop Dorótheos, the Venetians obtained Anápli by the marriage of a Venetian with the French heiress in possession of it.

those of Melingús (near Mistrá), as well as the people of Mani. To maintain his conquests in *Laconia* he erected fortresses at Mistrá, Leftro, and Mani or Maíni[1]. But he remained not long in repose. The lords built fortresses, resisted his authority, and made war upon one another; and William himself quarrelled with the lord of Athens, Guy de la Roche, who was assisted on this occasion by the lord of Karítena, nearly allied to both parties. In this contest William was victorious in a battle on Mount Kary'dhi (a name still existing) in the *Megaris*, pursued the enemy to Thebes, and finally obliged the Athenian prince to do homage to him in the Moréa, in virtue of the supremacy which had been conferred upon William de Champlitte by the Marquis of Montferrat, King of Thessalonica. But these dissensions among the Franks were advantageous only to their enemies, the Greeks, and in 1259, William had the further imprudence to unite with Michael Kutrúlis, Despot of the West, in his invasion of Thessaly and Macedonia, governed by his brother, Theodore Ducas, who was supported by the emperor[2]. On the eve

[1] MM. Bory de St. Vincent, Boblaye, and Buchon differ in their opinions as to the situation of this place; but the following lines of the Chronicle leave little doubt that it was the castle called Maíni, which still exists in ruins at Porto Kaio, adjacent to the *Tænarian* peninsula:—

Ἐπέρασε τὸν Πασαβᾶν, ἐδιέβη εἰς τὴν Μάνην·
Ἐκεῖ ηὗρε σπήλαιον φοβερὸν εἰς ἀκροτῆρ' ἀπάνω·
Διοῦ τὸν ἄρεσε πολλὰ, ἔπηκεν ἕνα κάστρον,
Καὶ Μάνη τὸν ὠνόμασε καὶ οὕτως τὸ λέγουν πάλιν.

Page 73.

[2] Acropolit. Chron. Compend. 81. Pachymer. 1, 30. Niceph. Gregor. 3, 5, § 1. Phranza 1, 4. According to the three first

of the battle of Pelagonia, William was deserted by Nicephorus, and in consequence was defeated, made prisoner, and conducted to Constantinople, from whence he was not released until he had ceded to the Greek emperor the fortresses of Monemvasía, Mistrá, and Maíni; and these the Franks never recovered, the Greeks having retained them until the Turkish conquest, two centuries later. By means of these places the Greeks held the south-eastern coast of the Moréa and the greater part of *Laconia*, from whence they observed and often made war upon the French princes, though with little success. Two of these military occurrences may particularly be mentioned, as serving to fix the positions of some of the principal places mentioned in the Chronicle, the names of which are now obsolete. The first took place not long after the return of Prince William to the Moréa in 1263, when the emperor, having been informed that the prince was already taking measures to regain the places of which the Greeks had been put in possession, sent a reinforcement to the Moréa under his brother, Constantine Palæologus, the Great Domestic. Constantine, marching from Mistrá towards Andravídha, arrived the first day at Veligósti; on the second, at Lidhoréa, which name is still preserved in a district to the right of the *Alpheius*, near its junction with the *Ladon*. From thence they followed the *Alpheius* to I'sova, or O'siva, the appointed

of these historians, Mainfroy, king of Sicily, furnished a large body of cavalry on this occasion; but the Chronicle is silent as to these Italian auxiliaries.

place of meeting of a body of Turkish auxiliaries. The Greeks burnt the monastery of I'sova, and then proceeded to Prinítza, where they encamped in a great plain.

William happened at this moment to be at Corinth, whither he had gone to obtain succour from Athens, and had left in charge of his dominions John of Catavá, who, on hearing of the approach of Constantine, marched (it is not stated from whence) to Krestena. This name still subsists as that of a village two or three miles from the left bank of the *Alpheius* opposite to *Olympia*. As soon as Catavá had knowledge of the arrival of the Greeks at Prinítza, he marched by night along the *Alpheius*, through a narrow pass called the Agrídhi of Kunupítza, and early in the morning attacked and defeated the Greeks, who fled into the woods of the neighbouring mountains, while Constantine sought his personal safety in a retreat through by-ways to Mistrá.

In the ensuing spring the Greeks were still more unfortunate, Constantine having been made prisoner by the Franks, assisted by a body of Turks, on Mount Makryplághi, after which the French plundered all *Laconia* as far as Elos and Vátika; but they were obliged to return hastily, after providing for the safety of Sparta, on hearing of a revolt of the Skortiní, who had blockaded Aráklovo and Karítena. It appears in general, that in consequence of the possession of Mistrá and Monemvasía by the Greeks, the utmost that William could effect against them was, (having fortified Nikli,) to maintain a body of his forces on the frontier of *Laconia*, at Arákhova,

a large village still existing in a lofty situation on the confines of the *Tegeatis* and *Laconice*, from whence he could make incursions into *Laconia*. The Chronicle relates some of the principal circumstances which attended the death of Mainfroy and the acquisition of the kingdom of Sicily by Charles of Anjou, as introductory to an account of the alliance between William and Charles by the marriage of Philip[1], a younger son of the latter, with Isabella, the daughter of William. After this marriage, which took place at Naples in 1269, in the presence of Charles and William, the latter returned to the Morέa, followed by 500 men, whom Charles sent to his assistance on hearing of the arrival at Monemvasía of some Greek reinforcements. From Glarέntza the united forces of William and Charles moved to I'sova, to Karítena, and to Nikli, from whence they made an incursion into Tzakonía, and plundered it during five days, the Greeks retiring into the mountains and fortresses. William then left a strong garrison in Nikli, and returned with his Neapolitan confederates to Andravídha, where he was soon called upon by his new liege lord, the King of Sicily, to afford him assistance against Conradin and the Guebilines[2]. To some military advice of William, the Chronicle attributes the victory gained by Charles at Scurzola[3], which was followed by the death of Conradin; and adds, that in gratitude for this benefit, the

[1] Erroneously named Louis in the Chronicle.

[2] Κηπιλίνοι. Γιπελήνοι.

[3] In the Chronicle this battle is erroneously said to have been fought at Benevento (Πονιβάτ).

king despatched, unasked, and at his own expense, another body of auxiliaries to the Moréa, William having been obliged again to return thither hastily in consequence of an attack from the Greeks, who took advantage of his absence, although in violation of a truce for a year, which had been agreed upon before William's departure for Naples. On this occasion William was still less fortunate than on the last; a dysentery[1], which, according to the poet, was caused by the cold waters of Arákhova, destroyed a great number; and among them their best captain, Geoffroy, lord of Karítena. In the same year, 1277, or the following, William de Villehardouin himself died, as well as his son-in-law Philip, by which Charles II. of Naples, the elder brother of the latter, became sovereign of the principality of Achaia, which was governed for many years by a bailli or deputy[2]. This deputy, for the greater part of the time, was Nicolas de Saint Omer, who had married William's widow. In 1292, Florent de Hainault, having married Isabella, daughter of William, and widow of Philip of Anjou, was appointed Prince of Achaia by the King of Sicily. He assisted Nicephorus Ducas, despot of the West, with a mercenary force of 500 men, against the Greek emperor, and, landing in Epirus, marched with the despot and Richard, Count of Kefalonía, to Arta and Ioánnina, which latter city they relieved from the blockade of the Greeks, who retreated precipitately, and before they could receive advice of the arrival of a Genoese squadron at Prévyza, which had been sent to their aid.

[1] κοιλιακόν. [2] μπάϊλος.

Here ends the Chronicle of the princes of Achaia. The remaining pages are devoted to an episode, which serves, and was intended probably by the author, to intimate to the reader his place of residence, and the time at which his work was concluded. Geoffroy de Brienne, who was cousin of the deceased lord of Karítena, and claimed to be his heir, having met with no encouragement from the French chieftains, obtained possession, by a stratagem, of the castle of Aráklovo, and offered it for sale to the Greeks, who were advancing to take possession of it; when Nicolas de Saint Omer, then bailli, apprehensive of the effects which would follow the loss of such an important position, entered into terms with Geoffroy, and agreed to give him a fief, on the condition of his restoring the castle. Geoffroy acquired another fief by marriage, and his heiress married D'Aunoy, lord (*αὐθέντης*) of Arkadhía, whose grandson, Erard, was recently dead when the poet wrote [1]. As Geoffroy came into the Moréa about the year

[1] *Ὁ θεὺς τοὺς ἔδωκε παιδὶν καὶ ἦτον δὲ κορίτζι,*
Ἐλένην τὴν ὠνόμασαν καὶ ὕστερον ὑπανδρεύθη
*Μὲ τὸν Μισὲρ Βιλάον ντὲ Ἀνοὲ *, αὐθέντην τῆς Ἀρκαδίας.*
Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἔπηκαν υἱὸν καὶ θυγατέρα,
Ἀράρδος † ἤκουεν ὁ υἱὸς, Ἀνέζα ‡ ἡ θυγατέρα,
Τὴν ὁποιὰν τὴν εὐλογήθηκε ἓι' ὁμάζιον γυναῖκα
Ὁ Μισὲρ Στένης τὸ ὄνομα, ὁ Μαῦρος τὸ ἐπίκλην §.
Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἔπηκαν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέραις
Ἀπὸ ὅλους εἷς ἀπέμεινε, τὸ ἦτον κληρονόμος,
Ἀράρδον τὸν ὠνόμαζαν, αὐθέντην Ἀρκαδίας.
Ἐπλούτηναν τὰ ὀρφανὰ, ἐχάρησαν αἱ χῆρες,
Οἱ πένητες καὶ οἱ πτωχοὶ πολὺ λυγάριν ἐπῆκαν

* Messire Vilain d'Aunoy. † Erard. ‡ Agnes.
§ Messire Stenis Mavros, a Greek name.

1285, and the reigning lord of Arkadhía, recently deceased, was of the third generation from Geoffroy, the poem could not have been concluded before the year 1350 or 1360.

The Chronicle of the Moréa resembles other similar productions of the lower Greeks in the tameness and vulgarity of its language, in its prolixity, its tedious details, mixed with long speeches, intended as an imitation of the Homeric style, and its total want of all poetic merit or character. But it retains considerable interest as a historical document, and as presenting a correct sketch of the lives and alliances of some of the most successful adventurers of the crusades, of the moral and political usages of feudal times, and of military customs before the invention of gunpowder. It may be read, therefore, with some advantage by those not conversant with the Romaic Greek in the translation of M. Buchon, who has illustrated the work most fully with notes and illustrations from French and Italian authorities relating to the same events. There are indeed several passages where I cannot exactly agree with the editor in his interpretation of the poet; and by his own admission he has found much difficulty in explaining the geography of the narrative. For the purpose of supplying this indispensable aid to the historical document, I shall offer

Εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὁποῦ λαλῶ, τοῦ αὐθέντου Ἀρκαδίας.
Ὅλοι τὸν ἐμνημονεύετε, καλὸς αὐθέντης ἦτον. Ad fin.

M. Buchon has translated these lines so as to make it appear that there was no more than one Erard. But this is corrected in his Genealogical Table III., where two are duly named; the uncle, son of Helene; and the nephew, son of Mavros and Agnes.

a few remarks on the situation of the principal places, of which the names are now obsolete. These are not numerous, as the greater part of the towns and fortresses of the Morea are still named precisely as in the 13th century.

The towns giving names to Frank lordships, which are now either obscure places, or no longer exist, are A'khova, Khalatrítza, Gheráki, Passavá, Veligósti, Nikli, and Grítzena.

The situation of A'khova is proved by the name Akhovés, still attached to a district adjacent to the ancient Thelpusa; the ruined medieval castle named Galatá is probably the fortress of the lords of A'khova.

Khalatrítza, now called Khalandrítza[1], is still a considerable village on the heights which rise from the right bank of the *Peirus*, ten or twelve miles above the mouth of that river. The castle of the lords of Khalandrítza is probably that which occupies the summit of a strong height two miles to the north of Khalandrítza, and is now called Sainókastro.

The ruined castle of the lords of Gheráki, founded on the walls of the ancient Geronthræ, is still to be seen in a conspicuous situation on the heights which rise from the left bank of the *Eurotas* to the southward of the *Spartan* plain. Gheráki is said in the poem to have been in Tzakonía: in fact it is situated not very far to the southward of the country where the Tzakonic dialect of modern Greek is still

[1] Χαλαντρίτζα.

spoken. Tzakonía, however, seems to have had a more comprehensive meaning in the 13th century, and to have been synonymous with the ancient Laconia.

The name Passavá exists only as attached to a river and plain in Kato-Mani; but ruined walls of the castle of the lords of Passavá are found, as at Gheráki, intermixed with remains of the works of the ancient city which occupied the same position. This city was *Las*, a name connected with the earliest traditions of *Laconia*.

The names Veligósti, Nikli, and Grítzena are now obsolete.

Veligósti is described as having been situated on a height of small elevation [1] beyond Mount Khelmós, at one day's march from *Sparta* on the way to Karítena, and about midway between *Sparta* and *Heræa*. This places Veligósti very near Londári. As we find Londári mentioned among the leading towns or fortresses in the 15th century, it rose perhaps to importance on the decline of Veligósti; for as there is no mention of Londári in the former age, so there is none of Veligósti in the latter. A medieval castle, of which there are some remains mixed with Hellenic masonry, on the summit of Mount Khelmós, may have secured the communication between Veligósti and *Sparta* through this pass, which anciently was commanded by Belemina.

Nikli stood, like Veligósti, at the entrance of some passes leading into *Laconia*, and which are

[1] χαμοβούνιν.

described by the Chronicle as consisting of narrow valleys, where an opponent would have great advantages, and cavalry would be of little service[1]. This description applies so exactly to the passes between *Tegea* and *Sparta*, that we can hardly hesitate in placing Nikli at or near the former place; and the more confidently, as we learn, in the same page of the Chronicle, that Nikli defended one of the approaches to Argos from *Sparta*, which no situation could have effected in any plain to the northward of *Laconia*, except that of *Tegea*. Nor could Nikli have been in the plain of *Stenyclerus*, or upper *Messenian* plain, because when the Franks defeated the Greeks a second time in the year 1263, and made Constantine Palæologus and his principal officers prisoners on Mount Makryplághi, the Greeks had advanced to that mountain from Veligósti and the Franks from Arkadhía. Nikli, therefore, would, on that supposition, have been exactly in the route of the Franks; and some mention of it could scarcely have been avoided. In the Chronicle, moreover, the plain of *Stenyclerus* is clearly described as that of a place named Kalámi.

Nikli, situated on the site of *Tegea*, commanded the approach to *Sparta*, the key of *Laconia*, from

[1] , . . . τὸ διάστημα τὸ ἔνει ἀπαὶ τὸ Νίκλι
Ἕως τὴν Λακεδαιμονιὰν, ἔνει δασώδης τόπος
Βουνιὰ καὶ στενολάγγαδα, ὁποῦ βολὴ δεξιώτων
Νὰ στέκουν νὰ δοξεύουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ ἀλογάμας,
Καὶ ἡμεῖς νὰ μὴ δυνάμεθα νὰ βλάψομεν εἰς αὐτούς.
Page 156.

the great eastern *Arcadian* plain, as Veligósti commanded it from the western; and this situation illustrates the military policy of Prince William in placing his advanced camp at Arákhova, near the sources of the streams flowing southward to the *Eurotas* and northward to the *Alpheius;* as from thence he could maintain a communication with *Sparta*, then in his hands, and could occasionally overrun all Tzakonía and the *Lacedæmonian* plain up to the walls of Mistrá and Monemvasía.

As Nikli existed before the French conquest of the Moréa, it is not improbable that the old church on the site of *Tegea*, called Paleó-Episkopí, and which appears to be much more ancient than the 13th century, was once the principal church of Nikli, though I cannot find either Tegea or Nikli noticed as a bishopric in any ecclesiastical authority. Possibly the Bishop of Argos had an episcopal church at Nikli. It has been supposed that Nikli was the same place as the present Μοχλὴ or Paleo-Mókhli, near Akhladhó-Kampo (*Hysiæ*); but Nikli was in a plain, whereas Mokhlí stands on a precipitous height closely environed by mountains. It is well known, moreover, that Mokhlí is a colony of *Amyclæ* in *Lacedæmonia*, driven from thence probably by the Sclavonians, and that the bishop who takes his title from Amyclæ resided at Mokhlí until that place was deserted, when he went to Tripolitzá, where he was living at the time of my first visit to the Moréa.

Both the anonymous Chronicle and the Byzantine history confirm, by their silence, another tra-

dition of the Tripolitziotes which I have mentioned [1], namely, that Tripolitzá was not built until Mokhlí declined, and that it was formed and named from the union of Mokhlí, *Tegea*, and *Mantineia*.

The situation of Grítzena is the most difficult to be determined, as the name occurs only as that of one of the lordships; nor is there any incidental remark in the poem which throws any light on its position, except that it was in Lakos, written στοὺς Λάκκους by Bishop Dorótheos; but as Lakos is coupled with the mountain of Melingú (*Taygetus*), and was one of the places between *Sparta* and Kalamáta, it would seem at least that Grítzena was on the southern side of Mount *Taygetus*, in a situation intermediate between Kalamáta and Leftro, where William built a castle [2]. It is highly probable, however, that after the cession of Mistrá and Maïni to the Greeks, no part of *Laconia* was occupied by the Franks, except *Sparta*. Pachymer indeed expressly mentions Ieráki (Gheráki) as having been given up together with Monemvasía, Maïni, Myzithrá, Anápli, and Argos.

One of the most important positions in the interior of the Moréa was Aráklovo. It was a small castle on a precipitous hill in the narrowest part of the pass of Skorta [3]; and before the castle of Karítena had been built by Hugues de Brières, it was the key of the communication between the upper and lower valley of the *Alpheius*, as well as a sort of cita-

[1] Tr. in Morea, ii. p. 336.
[2] Chronique de Morée, p. 74.
[3] τῶν Σκορτῶν ὁ δρόγγος.

del to the mountainous country on either side called Skorta, which was generally independent of the ruling powers of the Moréa, or in a state of insurrection against them. There are two remains of medieval castles, nearly opposite to each other, in the middle of those passes of the *Alpheius;* one standing on the foundations of the ancient *Theisoa of Cynuræa*, the other on those of *Maratha*. The former situation, as the more important in every respect, and as well defending the left or weaker side of the *Alpheius*, is more probably the Aráklovo of the Chronicle. This name is Sclavonic, which accords with the poem, inasmuch as the latter points chiefly to Skorta and Melingús as the abodes of the Moreite Sclavonians.

Below the passes of Skorta, and about midway between them and Andravídha, was I'sova or O'siva. Here stood a celebrated monastery, which was burnt by the Greeks when they marched along the *Alpheius* towards Andravídha in 1262. The situation of I'sova, as deducible from the Moreite poem, accords perfectly with that of the Gothic ruin, called Paláti, which is situated not far from the left bank of the *Alpheius*, and nearly opposite to the mouth of the *Erymanthus*[1]. The Madonna of I'sova was believed by the Franks to have assisted them in gaining the battle of Pirnítza, which accounts for the existence of a Gothic church in that place, supposing it to be I'sova. Possibly this may have been one of the fiefs given to the military orders; for its destruction by the Greeks shows that it was a Latin

[1] See Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 87.

establishment before that battle. Or the church perhaps was built by William de Villehardouin after his victory at Pirnítza, in gratitude to the Madonna. I'sova was separated by a pass called the Agrídhi of Kunupítza, from the plain of Pirnítza. It was probably where the valley of the *Alpheius* narrows in the way from Strefi to Pyrgo, which town stands perhaps on the site of Pirnítza; for its name is well known to be very recent, and to be derived from the Pyrgo or tower of a Turkish bey [1], which stood in a subordinate village of the district of Ghastúni.

Vlisíri [2] was a town not far from Pyrgo, near the mouth of the *Alpheius*.

If the anonymous Chronicle possesses value as preserving from oblivion some information on the history and geography of the Moréa in the 13th century, it is not less interesting as a specimen of the Greek language and poetry of those times. On this subject the translator of the Chronicle observes: —"Notre chroniqueur défigure cette belle langue beaucoup plus que n'avait fait aucun autre écrivain avant lui. Le Grec est sous sa plume un patois mêlé de Grec et de Français, n'ayant ni la mélodie de l'un, ni l'aisance de l'autre. Les cinquante-six ans, pendant lesquels les Francs avaient possédé

[1] See Tr. in Morea, i. p. 45.

The Pyrgo, from whence Prince William in 1259 crossed the Gulf of Epakto, in his way to Arta, was not, as the editor of the Anonymous Chronicle supposes (p. 85) in the *Eleia*, but on the northern shore of the Moréa, probably at the harbour now called Psathó-Pyrgo.

[2] Βλισσῆρι.

l'empire de Byzance, avaient suffi pour défigurer la langue des vaincus, et cette corruption avait dû être plus grande encore dans le Peloponnèse conquis et gouverné en détail par des chevaliers Français, qui avaient morcelé ses vieilles républiques en autant de seigneuries, et y avaient introduit leur langue."

Undoubtedly many French terms occur in the Moreite poem, rendered necessary, as in the Hellenic of Roman times, by the new titles, offices, laws, and customs introduced by the conquerors; but instead of being written in a dialect which arose out of the brief residence of the Franks at Constantinople and in the Morèa, the language of the Moreite poem presents no essential variation from the Romaic of the 12th century; nor does it differ in any particular of importance from the Romaic of modern times. We find in all of them the same modes of corruption from the ancient Hellenic, the same substitution of prepositions for the inflexions of nouns, the same use of auxiliary verbs for the tenses of verbs, the same manner of employing articles and pronouns, a syntax of the same kind, and the same accentual metre, in which the ancient laws of quantity were totally forgotten. The short extracts given in the preceding pages, compared with productions of earlier or later date, will convince every person conversant with Romaic of an entire similitude in every essential characteristic.

The Moreite poem was composed in the same century, in which Dante and Petrarca led the way in that course of improvement which speedily raised Italy to the highest rank in literature, while that

of Greece declined, or remained stationary, for four centuries, in consequence of the degraded condition of the people. Nevertheless, in the manner in which the two languages differ from the ancient type, in the accentual metre of their versification, in the time of their formation, in the causes and effects of their divergence from the ancient tongues, there is the strongest resemblance.

But although the Romaic Greek may not have undergone greater change than the Italian in the course of 500 years, it has varied a little from century to century like all languages; and the Moreite poem, as being the only published example of an intermediate time between the earliest and the latest specimens of vulgar poetry, is valuable, as affording the means of comparison. The following are some of the instances in which there are vestiges of Hellenic, not to be found in later productions:—

τὸ, τὸν, τὰ, resembling the Doric τὸς, τὸν, τὰ, is used in the place of the Hellenic ὃ, ὃν, ἃ, but ὁποῦ also occurs in the sense of *who* or *which*, as in the hodiernal dialect; τὸ is found also in the sense of ὅτι, *that*. ὅταν, *when*. οὐκ, οὐδὲν, *not*: the modern form δὲν is not used. ἀπαὶ, ὑπαὶ, a poetical Hellenic form of ἀπὸ, ὑπό. ἔνι, or ἔνει, *is*, *are*. να ἔνῃ, *to be*: this is corrupted in the more modern dialect into εἶναι, which is used for all the inflexions of εἶμαι, *I am*. τὸ ἰδεῖν, τὸ ἀκούσειν, *the seeing*, *the hearing*. ὡσότε, *until when*. ὡς οὗ, *until that*. ἐπὴν, with the meaning of ἐπειδὴ, the ἐπὰν of Homer. διοῦ, *whence*, *because*. ἑνομοῦ, τόμου (ἐν τῷ ὁμοῦ) *together*. Some of the tenses of ποιέω, or corrupted forms of them,

constitute the ordinary varieties of the verb *to make*, which in the hodiernal language are expressed by means of κάμνω, or πράσσω, ex. gr. ποίησον, *make* (imperative), ἐποίησε, *he made.* ποιήσω, or πήσω, *I shall make.* νὰ πήσῃ, *to make.* καὶ πῆσε ὡς κελεύεις, *and do as you will.* ἔπηκα, or ἐπῆκα, *I made.* ἔπηκαν, or ἐπῆκαν, or ἐπήκανε, *they made.* σεβαίνω, θυγάρτη, by metathesis, for ἐσβαίνω, θυγάτηρ. ἀναπετάρι, *handkerchief*, or *the fold of a robe.* δημεγέρτης, δημεγερσία, *rebel, rebellion.* δυναμάρι, *fortress.* ἐδιχρόνισα, *I passed two years.* ἐπίκλη (ἐπίκλησιν) *surname.* πιτάκι (ἐπιταγὴ) *message, order.* στρέμμα, *retreat.* φιορκία (ἐπιορκία) *perjury.*

M. Buchon adduces, as a proof of the *Frank* corruptions of the language of this poem, the use of καὶ in the sense of the Italian *che;* but though he says it is found *passim*, he refers only to the following line:—

> Ὡς ἤξευρεν, ἐγνώρισε, καὶ ἦτον ἡ ἀληθεία.
> When he knew that it was true.

This use of καὶ, however, is idiomatic in Romaic, and resembles some of its modes of employment in Hellenic.

There are many words of Hellenic origin in the Chronicle, slightly differing in form from those at present employed; and there are some which I can neither trace to Hellenic, nor find in the ordinary dialect of the present day, though it is possible they may have a local existence in some parts of Greece. Such is δρόγγος, which seems to be the Peloponnesian form of λόγγος, a wood, or wilderness, or mountainous pass. The names of all

the principal places in the Greek empire which occur in the poem are written as at present, as well as those of foreign countries and people, ex. gr. Φράντζα, Βενετία, Πουλία, Προβέντζα, Ἐγγλιτέρα, Ἐγγλέσοι, Τοσκάνοι, Λουμβάρδοι, Τουδέσκοι, Ἀλαμάνοι, Φραντζέζοι, Βουλγάροι, Γενουβέζοι.

Many words which the editor derives from the French, and adduces as proofs of the effects of the French conquest of the Moréa upon the language of that country, were not derived from the French, but were taken at an earlier time from the low Latin or Italian. Such as καβαλλάρης, *horseman;* καπιτάνιος, or καπετάνος, *captain;* ὁμάτζιο, *homage;* πασσάτζιο, *passage;* ρεβεστίζω, *to invest;* ροβελεύω, *to rebel;* τέντα, *tent.*

M. Buchon attributes to the poem a date between 1324 and 1328. But fifty years later seems more probable; for if Erard, the last lord of Arkadhía, was great-grandson of Geoffroy de Brienne, who was not married until about 1285, it is evident that sufficient time had not elapsed in 1324 for a prince of the third generation to have governed Arkadhía for several years. Another indication of time is given in the following lines, where the poet, after relating the defeat of Walter de Brienne by the Great Company of Catalans, in 1312, and his death, adds that the Company was still in possession of the Mega Kyráto or Duchy of Athens, when the poet was writing.

Ἐπῆραν καὶ τὸν τόποντου τὸ μέγαλο Κυράτον
Καὶ ἔνει αὐθένται σήμερον ἐκείνη ἡ συντροφία. Page 169.

As the Catalans were not entirely deprived of their

possessions at Athens and Neopatra until their defeat by Nerio Acciajuoli in 1394, the preceding words of the Romaic poet are not adverse to a date for the poem of about 1380.

M. Buchon justly infers, from the poet's inclination in favour of the Franks, and his severe reflections on the Greek character, that he was in part, at least, of the race of the conquerors. The French were probably never very numerous in the Moréa, and the old families at length failed, as appears by a Greek (Stenis Mavros) having married the daughter and heiress of D'Aunoy, lord of Arkadhía. The poet was possibly of this mixed race.

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Therapne, Amyclæ, Bryseæ, Alesiæ, Messapeæ, Pharis, rivers Tiasa, Phellia[1].

[1] For the better understanding of these remarks and of some others on the topography of the great *Lacedæmonian* valley, a map of it has been subjoined on an enlarged scale. The following is the passage of Pausanias which this map serves to illustrate:—

Θεράπνης δὲ οὐ πόρρω Φοιβαῖον καλούμενόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διοσκούρων ναός· καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ Πυσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Γαιαούχου, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ταΰγετον, ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀλεσίας χωρίον. . . . . καί σφισι Λακεδαίμονος τοῦ Ταϋγέτης ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἡρῶον. Διαβᾶσι δὲ αὐτόθεν ποταμὸν Φελλίαν παρὰ Ἀμύκλας, ἰοῦσιν εὐθεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Φᾶρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ποτὲ ᾠκεῖτο, ἀποτραπομένῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Φελλίας ἐς δεξιὰν ἡ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ταΰγετόν ἐστιν ὁδός. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ

The difficulty as to Therapne has already been stated [1], as well as the conclusion, that Therapne can only be placed, consistently with ancient evidence, at the southern extremity of the pass of *Menelaium*, where that mountain falls steeply to the left bank of the *Eurotas*, opposite to its junction with the Trypiótiko, or river of Magúla, the ancient *Cnacion* [2]. Immediately opposite to Therapne, and separated only from it by the river, was the Phœbæum. The steepness of Mount Menelaium explains the ὑψίπεδον Θεράπνας ἕδος of Pindar, and leads to the belief that Therapne extended from the bank of the river to the summit of that mountain. Thus also we perceive the propriety of the description by Herodotus of the position of the temple of Helene at Therapne [3]. From the Scholiast of Pindar, compared with Pausanias, we may infer that the Phœbæum was sometimes considered a part of Therapne, although separated from it by the river; for the former describes the temple of the Dioscuri

πεδίῳ Διὸς Μεσσαπέως τέμενος. . . . . Ἐντεῦθέν ἐστιν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ Ταϋγέτου χωρίον, ἔνθα πόλις ποτὲ ᾠκεῖτο Βρυσεαὶ, καὶ Διονύσου ναὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔτι λείπεται καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ μόναις γυναιξὶν ἔστιν ὁρᾶν. γυναῖκες γὰρ δὴ μόναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας δρῶσιν ἐν ἀποῤῥήτῳ. Ἄκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταϋγέτου Ταλετὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. Pausan. Lacon. 20, 3,—5. (2—4.)

[1] Tr. in Morea, i. p. 181.

[2] On this identification, see Tr. in Morea, i. p. 180. Anciently, perhaps, the Cnacion joined the Eurotas by a more direct course than it now does. The change would be the natural effect of an elevation of surface in the marshy level of the *Platanistus*.

[3] ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱερόν· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλευμένῃ ὕπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηΐου ἱροῦ. Herodot. 6, 61.

as in Therapne[1]; the latter, as having been in the Phœbæum.

Amyclæ I still place at Aghía Kyriakí, although Sklavokhóri is generally supposed to be its site, and is so marked in the map of the French Geographical Commission. But there is every probability that Sklavokhóri is a name and place not more ancient than the 14th century. From the metrical Chronicle of the Moréa we learn, that in the 12th and 13th centuries some half-independent Sclavonians occupied the ridges of *Taygetus* behind Mistrá, and were still in that state when Mistrá fell into the hands of the Greeks in the year 1262, and became for two centuries the capital of the Laconian despotate. In the course of those years it is probable that the Greeks obliged the Sclavonians to exchange their mountain villages, where they were naturally disposed to be unruly,

[1] Καὶ παρ' Εὐρώτα πέλας
Ἰφικλέος μὲν παῖς ὁμόδαμος ἐὼν
Σπαρτῶν γένει
Τυνδαρίδας δ' ἐν Ἀχαιοῖς ὑ-
ψίπεδον Θεράπνας οἰκέων ἕδος.
Pindar. Isthm. 1, 42.

ἱστέον, ὅτι τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θεράπναις τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι τῶν Διοσκούρων. Schol. in l. cit.

The son of Iphicles was Iolaus. The Σπαρτῶν γένος, or race of Thebans, suggests a more probable origin of the name Sparta, than that of Sparta having been a daughter of Lacedæmon, which Pausanias gives, in conformity with the predilection for heroic personifications, which was common in his time. In fact, Sparta could hardly have existed before the return of the Heracleidæ, the city of Amyclæ having been so near its site, and still nearer the εὔπυργος Θεράπνη, as it is termed by Alcman. (Frag. 1. Ed. Welcker.)

for a settlement in the plain of *Sparta*. The proofs which Sklavokhóri retains of having once been a place of greater importance than it is at present, and its name, surrounded on all sides by names not of Sclavonic but of Greek or Turkish derivation, furnish strong reasons for believing that the origin of Sklavokhóri has been such as I have stated.

Sklavokhóri appears to be situated between the sites of *Amyclæ* and *Bryseæ*, and to have attracted to it fragments of the ancient buildings of both those cities. Thus the inscription containing the letters AMYKΛ which I observed at Sklavokhóri [1] may have been brought from the site of *Amyclæ;* while there seems strong reason for believing that the marble from Sklavokhóri, which was presented by the Earl of Aberdeen to the British Museum, came from *Bryseæ:* it bears the names of two priestesses, and represents various articles of female apparel; and at Bryseæ, as we learn from Pausanias, there was a temple of Bacchus, into which women alone were admitted, and in which they performed secret rites. Near Sinán-bey, a village between Sklavokhóri and the *Taygetan* cliffs, where I found another marble which is now in the British Museum, a copious source of water issuing from the foot of the cliffs at a small church containing ancient fragments, appears to mark the exact site of *Bryseæ:* this and other fountains in the vicinity may have given origin to the name; and Pausanias shows that Bryseæ stood near these cliffs, by his remark that the ordinary exit from the mountain

[1] Travels in the Morea, Inscr. No. 13.

was at Bryseæ. The town extended perhaps southward as far as an opening in the cliffs, through which a road leads from Sklavokhóri to Sokhá, and through which issues the Takhúrti, or river of Sokhá, which joins the *Eurotas* a little north of Vafió. On one side of the gorge stands a tower upon a perpendicular rock. This opening I take to be the place of exit of which Pausanias speaks.

It may be thought perhaps that *Bryseæ*, thus placed, is too far removed from the highest summit of Taygetus, anciently called *Taletum* and now St. Elias, to justify the description of Taletum as situated above Bryseæ; but as Bryseæ would still be the nearest town to that summit, and as it stood immediately at the foot of the cliffs, there seems nothing unsuitable in the words Ταλετὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσειῶν ἀνέχει, when applied to the supposed site of Bryseæ[1].

Bryseæ having been near the place of entrance into the mountain, and Alesiæ in the way from the temple of Neptune Gæaüchus to Mount Taygetus, it will follow that Alesiæ was nearly in a line between the southern extremity of Sparta and the site of Bryseæ, for the Temple of Neptune stood near the Phœbæum, which was near the Platanistus of Sparta, on the bank of the Eurotas opposite to Therapne. Alesiæ appears to have been situated between the rivers Tiasa and Phellia, Pausanias having noticed only the crossing of the latter after

[1] Anavry'ti, a modern village in the middle region of *Taygetus* immediately above *Bryseæ*, may have derived its ancient name from its position above Bryseæ; or merely as situated at the source of a river.

departing from Alesiæ to the southward. The Tiasa I have given reasons [1] for identifying, not with the Trypiótiko as marked in the map of the French Commission, but with the Pandeléimona, or river formed of the streams of Mistrá and Parórí. The Trypiótiko flowed through a part of the site of *Sparta*, while the Pandeleímona accords with the mention of the Tiasa by Pausanias, in being the principal stream on the road from *Sparta* to *Amyclæ*, whether the latter be placed at Aghía Kyriakí or at Sklavokhóri. Placing *Alesiæ*, therefore, at some point between the rivers of Mistrá and Anavry'ti, we trace the road of Pausanias from Sparta to the southern part of the plain, crossing the latter river near Aghía Kyriakí, which thus accords with *Amyclæ*, and beyond it separating into two branches, one of which led to *Bryseæ*, the other to *Pharis*. This latter place I still consider to have been situated at Vafió [2], where the ancient *treasury* seems perfectly to accord with the fact of Pharis having been one of the old Achæan cities before the Doric conquest; Vafió, moreover, lying exactly in the road from *Amyclæ* to the sea, alluded to by Pausanias, of which road beyond Vafió there are several portions still in existence, excavated in the rock, and furrowed with the marks of wheels.

The French Commission discovered the remains of a temple near a source of water a little northward of the village of Katzarú. This temple, lying exactly in a line between the site of *Bryseæ* and the point in the course of the river *Phellia* which

[1] Travels in the Morea, i. p. 181. [2] Ibid. iii. p. 4.

would be intersected by the road from *Sparta* to *Pharis*, accords with the temple of Jupiter Messapeus, described by Pausanias as having been situated on the road to Bryseæ, which, beyond the crossing of the Phellia, branched from the road leading from Sparta to Pharis. This temple, therefore, may be considered as confirming my supposition as to the site of *Bryseæ*, and, by implication, as to that of *Amyclæ* also. It appears from Theopompus (cited by Stephanus), that there was a town or village at the temple of Jupiter, called Messapeæ [1].

VOL. i. p. 199.

There can be little question that the word Helote, or Heilote (εἵλως), meant captive, and was derived from ἕλω, εἷλον, like δμῶς from δαμάω [2]. And this agrees with the testimony of Ephorus, according to whom the term was applied by the Heracleidæ to the conquered inhabitants of the country around Sparta before the occurrence of the insurrection of Helos, which arose from the violation by Agis, son of Eurysthenes, of an engagement made by the Dorians, that the conquered people should enjoy the same laws and privileges as the Spar-

[1] Μεσσαπέαι· χωρίον Λακωνικόν· τὸ ἐθνικὸν Μεσσαπιεύς. οὕπω γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖ τιμᾶται. Θεόπομπος πεντηκοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ. Steph. in v.

[2] V. Müller's History of the Doric Race, 3, 3, § 1. Lennep. Etymol. p. 257.

tans themselves. After the subjugation of the insurgents, all the Heilotes became slaves of the Spartans, serving them in their houses as well as in war, and cultivating their lands, liable to the payment of a fixed rent in kind. The περίοικοι, who formed the remainder of the Laconian population, were subject to tribute and taxation, received governors from Sparta, and were obliged to aid the Spartans in war without any voice in their councils, or in the civil government of the country: but they were in great measure their own masters; were secure in the enjoyment of their property, both landed and personal; had the almost exclusive exercise of commerce and the arts; and were exempt from those numerous miseries of the Spartan discipline, which made Xenophon say, that he wondered not that many men preferred death to such a life. And such continued, with little variation, to be the relative condition of the Heilotes, Periœci, and Spartans until the Roman conquest, when the Periœci were relieved from the Spartan yoke. The names of the districts which were united to form the self-governing community of the Eleutherolacones, sufficiently show that the lands of the Spartans, cultivated by the Heilotes, were chiefly in the interior plains, and that the Periœci principally occupied the maritime districts which surround them.

It was undoubtedly to the natural strength of these districts, and not to the good-will of the Spartans, that the Periœci, who consisted in great part of the descendants of the Achæans who had not migrated at the time of the Heracleid conquest,

were indebted for the superiority of their condition above that of the Heilotes. The former seem to have been nearly in the same state as the Maniátes and many other Greek mountaineers were, and some of them still are, under the Turkish government; the latter appear to have equally resembled the Greeks, who labour on the Turkish farms in the plains of Turkey, and who are bound to account to their masters for one half of the produce of the soil, as Tyrtæus says of the Messenians of his time:

> Ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλαις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι,
> Δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς
> Ἥμισυ πᾶν ὅσσον καρπὸν ἄρουρα φέρει.
>
> Tyrtæi Fragm. ap. Pausan. Messen. 14, 3 (5)[1].

VOL. i. p. 199.

The inscribed column near Priníko was probably a milestone on the Roman road from Sparta to Asopus, which is marked in the Peutinger Table.

VOL. i. p. 227.

"Hyperteleatum, a place in the Asopian district sacred to Æsculapius."

The French surveyors discovered this site on the shore opposite to the southern extremity of Cape Xylí, below the village of Demónia. The position accords correctly with the distance of Hyperteleatum

[1] V. et Ælian. V. H. 6, 1.

from *Asopus* as given by Pausanias. They found some remains of the inclosure of a temple on a rock artificially cut, with many tombs excavated in the rock, and towards Demónia, a fine source of water.

Vol. i. p. 228.

The ruins at Bozá are probably those of the Christian Asopus, the existence of which in the seventh century is shown by Hierocles, who writes the name ΑΣΩΠΟΛΙΣ, an error perhaps for Ἀσωπὸς πόλις. Of the origin of the name Asopus, or at what time it displaced that of Cyparissia, we have no intimation; possibly it was introduced by some new colony, when Cyparissia, which had occupied the peninsula of Kavo Xylí, and had been inhabited by some of the non-migrating Achæans of Laconia, had been reduced to a state of desolation. In the time of Pausanias, the ancient name was preserved in that of a temple of Minerva Cyparissia in the Acropolis of Asopus. This Acropolis could have been no other than the summit of Kavo Xylí, which was the Acropolis also of Cyparissia, as appears by some ruins having been called, in the time of Pausanias, those of the city of the Achæi Paracyparissii [1].

[1] καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει (Asopi sc.) Κυπαρισσίας ἐπίκλησιν, τῆς δὲ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ πόλεως ἐρείπια καλουμένης Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Παρακυπαρισσίων. Pausan. Lacon. 22, 7 (9).

Vol. i. p. 248.

Ægææ or *Ægiæ*, the Augeiæ of Homer, is placed on the French map at Limni, so called from an extensive marsh in the valley of the eastern branch of the river of Passavá: this marsh appears to answer to the Lake of Neptune mentioned by Pausanias. The distance of Limni from the remains of *Gythium* is nearly that which he gives between Ægiæ and Gythium, namely, thirty stades; and the situation agrees, inasmuch as it lies to the right of the direction from *Croceæ* to *Gythium*[1], the former being placed at or near Levétzova.

Vol. i. p. 249.

The French Commission discovered ancient quarries of green porphyry two miles to the southeastward of Levétzova, and the vestiges of a temple nearer to that village. As Levétzova is exactly in the way from *Sparta* to *Gythium*, it is probably the site of *Croceæ*, and the temple may have been that of Jupiter Croceatas, mentioned by Pausanias. If the geologists of the French Commission are right in their decision that green porphyry was the marble celebrated among the Romans by the name of

[1] Ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ ἐς Γύθιον καταβαίνοντί ἐστι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡ κώμη καλουμένη Κροκέαι. . . . . μετὰ δὲ Κροκέας ἀποτραπεῖς ἐς δεξιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐς Γύθιον εὐθείας ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἥξεις Αἰγίας. Pausan. Lacon. 21, 4, 5.

Laconian [1], there can be little doubt that the quarries of Levétzova are those alluded to by Strabo [2], though the ridges of Levétzova can hardly be considered a part of *Taygetus*, and doubtless had some other name. The vagueness, however, so common in Strabo, may be sufficient to account for this inaccuracy. It is less easy to reconcile with a quarry of green porphyry the description which Pausanias gives of the pebbles at Croceæ, which (he says) were difficult to work, but when wrought formed beautiful decorations for temples, baths, and fountains [3]. Perhaps both kinds of stone were found at Croceæ; and between the time of Strabo and that of Pausanias, the demand for the Croceate porphyry may have given way to other fashions, or may have been supplied from other quarries; and the pebbles alone may have been in request.

Vol. i. p. 260.

In the French map we find the name Kakovúni given to the southern part of the ridge of Mani. This is erroneous. Kakavulía, or Kakovulía, an

[1] Description de la Morée. Géognosie, ii. 2, p. 120.

[2] Εἰσὶ δὲ λατομίαι λίθου πολυτελοῦς, τοῦ μὲν Ταινυρίου ἐν Ταινάρῳ παλαιαί· νεωστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ταϋγέτῳ μέταλλον ἀνέωξάν τινες εὐμέγεθες, χορηγὸν ἔχοντες τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολυτέλειαν. Strabo, p. 367.

[3] Κροκέαι· ἧς ἡ λιθοτομία, μία μὲν πέτρα συνεχὴς οὐ διήκουσα, λίθοι δὲ ὀρύσσονται σχῆμα τοῖς ποταμίοις ἐοικότες, ἄλλως μὲν δυσεργεῖς, ἢν δὲ ἐπεργασθῶσιν, ἐπικοσμήσαιεν ἂν καὶ θεῶν ἱερά, κολυμβήθραις δὲ καὶ ὕδασι συντελοῦσι μάλιστα ἐς κάλλος. Lacon. 21, 4.

ancient word, and here meaning the land of evil counsel, is the true name. But even this name is applied by the other Maniátes as a term of reproach, and, as we may easily imagine, is not acknowledged by the inhabitants.

VOL. i. p. 272.

The remains of *Teuthrone* are described by M. Boblaye[1] as follows: "En descendant de Kávalos au port de Kotrones (or Kótorna) nous trouvâmes sur l'emplacement de ce village les ruines de Teuthrone. Sa distance, 150 stades au Cap Tænare, évaluée en stades Olympiques, n'est en excès que de huit à dix stades. La citadelle occupait la petite presqu'île, dite Scopas, que Niger nomme Scopia; son enceinte actuelle est faite de débris antiques, et sur le continent on trouve quelques fûts de colonnes, les ruines d'une rotonde en briques, et beaucoup de débris du moyen âge." The inscription, Tr. in M. No. 42, is from Skopá.

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VOL. i. p. 276.

The French map has not identified *Las* or *Hypsi*, or the rivers *Smenus* and *Scyras*. M. Boblaye supposes the Smenus to have been the Turkóvrysi, which he calls the river of Passavá[2]; and, following

[1] Recherches Géog. sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 80.
[2] Ibid. p. 88.

the old reading of Pausanias, he places *Las* five stades from the right bank of that river at or near Khósiari. At Vathy', which in the French map is called Aghéranos, (a name I never heard,) he places *Arainus*, the name being of similar sound. I still, however, adhere to the disposition of ancient names described in the place above cited, except with regard to Dictynnæum, which I now place not on Cape Petalí, but at Vathy' or Aghéranos, this promontory having been more worthy of notice than that of Petalí, and agreeing better with the words of Pausanias by its proximity to the ruins of *Hypsi*. There is indeed this objection, that if *Dictynnæum* was at Vathy', the river Turkóvrysi ought to be the *Smenus*, with which it accords in the purity of its waters; but we may imagine that Pausanias had already sufficiently noticed this stream in his mention of the fountain *Cagaco*, which corresponds perfectly, as I before observed, with the source now called Turkóvrysi, from whence the water of the Turkóvrysi river is principally derived, its tributaries above that spring being mere torrents: we may easily conceive also that in noticing the river *Smenus* as being to the left of Cape Dictynnæum, Pausanias purposely overlooked the promontory Petalí, as well as the river Turkóvrysi. There seems reason to suspect that the ancient name of the fountain Turkóvrysi was Κνακὼ, not Καγακὼ, and that the river was homonymous with the Κνάκιον of Sparta. The neighbouring mountain Κνακάδιον favours this supposition. There was a Mount Κνάκαλος and a temple of Artemis Κνακαλησία at Caphyæ in Arcadia[1], names

[1] Pausan. Arcad. 23, 3.

evidently derived, like those of the Laconian waters, from the same etymon, κνῆκος.

If the French Commission had observed the Hellenic remains in the fortress of Passavá, they would have arrived, perhaps, at a different conclusion on the surrounding topography; for those remains are sufficient proofs of the situation of *Las*, that is to say, of the ancient Las which stood on Mount Asia [1], for in the time of Pausanias the people of Las dwelt in the valley near the fountain Cnaco.

Vol. i. p. 277.

The French surveyors have placed *Pyrrhichus* at Kávalo, a village "situé au centre de la vallée transversale qui unit Dyró (Dhikhó?) à Kotrónes" (*Teuthrone*). "Nous y vîmes des thermes, un torse colossal de femme, et diverses ruines Romaines. Un peu au-dessous du village est le puits dont parle Pausanias, et un gouffre, où se perdent les eaux torrentielles [2]." The words of Pausanias, ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρρίχου καταβάντι ἐς θάλασσάν ἐστι Τευθρώνη [3], accord with the respective positions of the two places; but his distance of forty stades from the *Scyrus* to Pyrrhichus [4] must be measured, not from the mouth of that river, as M. Boblaye proposes, but from near its sources.

[1] See Tr. in Morea, i. p. 274.
[2] Boblaye, Récherches Géogr. p. 88.
[3] Lacon. 25, 3, 4. [4] Lacon. 25, 2.

VOL. i. p. 287.

On the highest point of the peninsula of *Thyrides*, or Kavo Groso, are ruins called Oriás to Kastro. It will be difficult to say whether *Hippola* stood at this place or at Kipúla, which is evidently a corruption of the ancient name, until a more accurate comparison of the two places is made.

VOL. i. p. 299.

Cape Matapán is here improperly described as the most southerly point in Europe. Gibraltar and Tarifa are more southerly.

VOL. i. p. 302.

I continue to place *Psamathus* at Porto Kaio and *Achilleius* at Vathy', although the French geographers have reversed these positions. The only argument I can imagine in favour of their arrangement is derived from the observation of Strabo, that Amathus was the first city which occurred in the Laconic gulf in proceeding from Tænarum towards Gythium; this accords undoubtedly with Vathy', if we identify *Tænarum* with Cape Matapán. But although this cape had no other ancient name than Tænarum, the same appellation was attached also to

the whole peninsula, of which it forms the southern extremity, and which Strabo has exactly described by the words ἀκτὴ ἐκκειμένη[1], a projecting peninsula. The first harbour beyond *Tænarum*, taken in this sense, is not Vathy', but Porto Kaio; Vathy', like Asómato, being a harbour within the peninsula. From Pausanias we learn that Tænarum was a promontory having two harbours, named Achilleius and Psamathus, and that near the extreme cape there was a temple of Neptune resembling a cavern[2]. The cavern and some remains of a temple, which still exist at Asómato, or Kistérnes, close to Cape Matapán, on the eastern side, leave no doubt as to the situation of the celebrated temple of the Tænarian Neptune, notwithstanding a slight difference between Strabo and Pausanias in the description of it; the former placing the cavern *near* the temple, which agrees with present appearances; the

[1] Ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ τῆς παραλίας τὸ μὲν Ταίναρον ἀκτή ἐστιν ἐκκειμένη, τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ἐν ἄλσει ἱδρυμένον· πλησίον δ' ἐστὶν ἄντρον, δι' οὗ τὸν Κέρβερον ἀναχθῆναι μυθεύουσιν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐξ ᾅδου . . . . . Μετὰ δὲ Ταίναρον, πλέοντι ἐπὶ τὴν Ὄνου γνάθον καὶ Μαλεὰς, Ἀμαθοῦς ἐστι πόλις· εἶτα Ἀσίνη καὶ Γύθιον, τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπίνειον, ἐν διακοσίοις καὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίοις ἱδρυμένον. Strabo, p. 363.

This measurement is nearly accurate at ten stades to the geographic mile, though something in excess if measured to the nearest point of the peninsula of Tænarum.

[2] Τευθρώνης δὲ ἀπέχει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις ἐς θάλασσαν ἀνέχουσα ἄκρα Ταίναρον, καὶ λιμένες ὅ τε Ἀχίλλειός ἐστι καὶ Ψαμαθοῦς. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ναὸς εἰκασμένος σπηλαίῳ, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα. ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγάγοι ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἅιδου τὸν κύνα. Pausan. Lacon. 25, 3, (4). Here again the distance is accurately stated, *Teuthrone* being placed at Kotrónes.

latter describing the cavern before which stood a statue of Neptune, as the temple itself. Possibly between the times of Strabo and Pausanias the temple may have fallen to ruin, and the cavern may have become the sanctuary of Neptune. The harbour at Asómato is so very small and ill-sheltered that there can scarcely be any doubt that the two harbours intended by Pausanias were Vathy' and Porto Kaio. Vathy', surrounded by steep barren hills, seems never to have had any habitations near it. At Porto Kaio, on the contrary, are cultivable slopes and levels, which, together with the ancient remains noticed by M. Boblaye, the modern vestiges on the shore of the harbour, the fortress of Maíni, and the monastery of Porto Kaio on the heights, are infallible evidences that here chiefly the *Tænarian* population has in all ages been collected, and that here stood that Amathus or Psamathus, which, in the time of Strabo, was a city, although no longer such in that of Pausanias, and which was therefore noticed by Strabo, while he overlooked Achilleius, as having been a desert harbour. From its position alone, near one of the most formidable promontories in Greece, the name of Achilleius was known probably as a harbour to Scylax, who correctly describes Psamathus as situated at the back of Achilleius, supposing these to have been the modern Porto Kaio and Vathy[1]. In other respects the description given of the maritime places of Laconia by Scylax

[1] Λακεδαίμων· ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσὶν αἵδε· Ἀσίνη, Μοθώνη, Ἀχίλλειος λιμὴν καὶ ἀντίπυγος τούτου Ψαμαθοῦς λιμήν. Τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἐν μέσῳ προέχον εἰς θάλασσαν ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος Ταίναρος· καὶ Λᾶς πόλις, &c. Scyl. Perip. p. 17, Hudson.

affords no correct information : and we must admit also, that the authority of Strabo in this question is somewhat lessened by his having placed an Asine between Amathus and Gythium, the only Asine known to history having been in a similar situation in the Messenian Gulf. From this similarity of situation may have arisen, perhaps, a textual error in Strabo, by which Asine has been substituted for some other name, possibly Teuthrone or Ægila [1].

VOL. i. p. 328.

Thalamæ, according to Pausanias, stood between Œtylus and Pephnus; eighty stades from the former, and twenty from the latter [1]. *Œtylus* is identified by the extant remains of antiquity at Vítylo, and the preservation of the name in the old Laconic form Βοίτυλος; *Pephnus* is known by its little island at the mouth of the river Miléa. *Thalamæ*, therefore, stood probably at or near Platza. The distances accord; the comparatively fertile district around Platza is likely to have contained an ancient town; and Vítylo, like Platza, having been at a distance of two or three miles inland, we may conceive that the ancient road from Vítylo to the northward led along the elevated level between the coast and the mountain, and conse-

[1] Pausan. Lacon. 26, 1, 2. See Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 327.

quently through Platza. The words of Pausanias, too, describing Pephnus as being on the seaside, tend to show that Thalamæ was not so situated. The river of Miléa, which enters the sea at the island of *Pephnus*, being the largest, or rather the only river on this part of the coast, can be no other than the minor Pamisus of Strabo [1], notwithstanding that he describes that river as near *Leuctrum;* and that Leftro is between two and three miles to the north of the river of Miléa. The remark of Strabo as to this Pamisus having been the subject of an adjudication of Philip (son of Amyntas) is explained by the speech of Chlæneas the Ætolian to the Lacedæmonians in the year B.C. 211; from which we learn that Philip, when he made his excursion through Peloponnesus in 338, and supported by the authority of the congress of Corinth forced the Lacedæmonians to terms, he obliged them to cede certain districts to Argos, Tegea, Megalopolis, and Messene [2]. His adjudication was founded, probably, upon an ancient claim alluded to by Pausanias, when he says that the Messenians alleged Pephnus to have once belonged to them [3], and consequently the four districts also to the northward of it, namely, Alagonia, Gerenia, Cardamylæ, and Leuctra, all which in the time of the Roman empire formed part of Eleuthero Laco-

[1] Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Πάμισος χαραδρώδης μικρὸς περὶ Λεῦκτρον ῥέων τὸ Λακωνικὸν, περὶ οὗ κρίσιν ἔσχον Μεσσήνιοι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ Φιλίππου. Strabo, p. 361.

[2] Polyb. 9, 28; 17, 14. Tacit. Annal. 4, 43. Pausan. Lacon. 24, 6.

[3] τὴν δὲ χώραν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ταύτην αὑτῶν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Lacon. 26, 2 (3).

nia. But it is probable that whatever boundaries may have been given to Messenia by Philip on this occasion, they were not for any great length of time respected by the Lacedæmonians.

VOL. i. p. 331.

The French Commission have placed *Gerenia* at Zarnáta; but the words of Pausanias, Γερηνίας δὲ ὡς ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἄνω τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους Ἀλαγονία[1], leave little or no doubt that *Gerenia* was a maritime town; and that it is now represented by Kitriés, the situation of which relatively to the other ancient sites, its harbour, and its vestiges of antiquity, are all in favour of the identity. At or near Zarnáta we may with equal confidence place *Alagonia*, its distance of about three miles inland from Kitriés agreeing with the thirty stades of Pausanias.

VOL. i. p. 358.

On reference to that part of the map which represents the present state of the rivers of *Messenia* near their junction with the *Messenian* Gulf, it will be seen that the Pídhima joins the Mavrozúmeno to the northward of Mikrománi; consequently there is no Dhipótamo at the mouth, as described in Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 358. But such a difference may easily

[1] Lacon. 26, ad fin.

have happened, in the course of twenty-five years, at the mouth of such a river as the *Pamisus*, and in a plain where changes in the courses of the streams are continually occurring either naturally or artificially.

Vol. i. p. 365.

Professor Ross, of Athens, informed me in the year 1835, that two inscriptions relating to Diana Limnatis had been found in the church of Panaghía Volimniátissa, to the southward of Poliani, a village in the mountains near the sources of the torrent of *Thuria;* whence it was natural to infer that Poliani was on or near the site of *Limnæ.* And some confirmation of this opinion was supposed to be derived from another discovery, namely, of two Ἑρμαῖα or terminal pillars near Sitzová, a village in the same mountains, about seven miles to the south-east of Poliani, and about as much to the north-east of Kalamáta, on which are inscribed the words ΟΡΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗΝ. These pillars, it is alleged, show that the ancient boundary between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians passed at no great distance eastward of Poliani; the situation of which place, therefore, accords with the testimonies of ancient history, tending to place Limnæ near the frontier[1]. The inscriptions, however, relating to

[1] τὸ δ' ἐν Λιμναῖς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν, ἐφ' ᾧ Μεσσήνιοι περὶ τὰς παρθένους ὑβρίσαι δοκοῦσι τὰς ἀφιγμένας ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ἐν

Diana Limnatis are much effaced, and, until their purpose is perfectly known, cannot afford decisive evidence on this question. A mere allusion to Diana Limnatis by no means proves that Limnæ was situated where the inscription was found; nor even that the allusion was to the temple of Diana Limnatis at Limnæ; as temples of Diana Limnatis were common not only in Messenia and Laconia, but in other parts of the Peloponnesus, as at Tegea[1] and Patræ[2]. Considering the question, therefore, as still undecided, I shall here offer some reasons for adhering to the opinion that Limnæ occupied a position in Macaria[3], or the lower Messenian plain, to the left of the Pamisus, and perhaps nearly opposite to the modern town of Nisí.

The following is all that Pausanias has left us in his Messenica as to the situation of Limnæ:— "Eighty stades from Pharæ, towards the interior of Messenia, is the city of the Thuriatæ. There is also in the interior the town Calamæ and the place called Limnæ, in which is a temple of Artemis Limnatis, where Teleclus, king of Sparta, is said to have been slain. But going from Thuria towards Arcadia occur the sources of the Pamisus; and in proceeding from these fountains to the left, at a distance of forty stades, is the city of the Messenians under

μεθορίοις ἐστὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ὅπου κοινὴν συνετέλουν πανήγυριν καὶ θυσίαν ἀμφότεροι. Strabo, p. 362.

ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων Τήλεκλος ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἐπεποίητο ἐν χωρίῳ καλουμένῳ Λίμναις. Pausan. Lacon. 2, 6.

[1] Arcad. 53, 4.

[2] Achaic. 20, 4.

[3] Strabo, p. 361.

Ithome[1]." It is impossible to understand from this passage whether Calamæ and Limnæ were to the right or to the left of the route which Pausanias was pursuing; but as he describes the road from Thuría to the fountains of the Pamisus, which was a part of the modern route from Kalamáta to Skala, "as the road towards Arcadia," there is a presumption that Limnæ was not on the road from Thuria into Arcadia. But Polianí, near which the inscription relating to Diana Limnatis was found, is no less than the fountains of the *Pamisus*, on the route from *Thuria* into *Arcadia;* the only difference being, that Polianí is in the direction of *Megalopolis*, and the fountains in that of *Phigaleia*. There is a presumption also afforded by the name and situation of the modern Kalámi[2], that *Calamæ* and *Limnæ* were in the lower part of the Messenian plain; the name *Limnæ*, moreover, being peculiarly adapted to the marshy plain around Nisí, while

[1] αἱ Φαραί. Ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Μεσσηνίας σταδίους προελθόντι ὀγδοήκοντά ἐστιν ἡ Θουριατῶν πόλις. . . . . Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ μεσογαίῳ κώμη Καλάμαι καὶ Λίμναι χωρίον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Λιμνάτιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἔνθα Τηλέκλῳ βασιλεύοντι, ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι λέγουσιν. Ἰόντι δὲ ἐκ Θουρίας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀρκαδίας, εἰσὶν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Παμίσου. . . . Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ προελθόντι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα στάδιά ἐστι Μεσσηνίοις ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ πόλις. Pausan. 31, 1 seq.

[2] I have described Kalámi as situated on the left of the road from Kalamáta to Pídhima. In the French map it is to the right. The situation of the village may have been changed; or there may be a winter and a summer village of the same name. Neither of these would be a violent supposition in any part of Greece or Asia Minor, at least wherever the lowest plains are cultivated.

nothing can be more inappropriate than its application to a country of mountains and torrents like that around Polianí. The latter place is, indeed, nearer to the line of frontier between *Messenia* and *Laconia*, than any position near Nisí could have been. But on examining the history of Messenia we shall find, that although ethnically the line of partition passed through the points where the extant Hermæa are found, the Messenians never but for a few short intervals possessed any of the country to the left of the Pamisus, from the time of the first Messenian war to that of Pausanias, a space of nine centuries; and that practically Limnæ, placed near Nisí, was almost always on the frontier of the two people, except during the three centuries of Messenian subjection to Sparta.

It is remarkable that the terminal pillars near Sitzová defined the boundaries, not of Laconia and Messenia, but of the cities Lacedæmon and Messene. They could not, therefore, have been erected until the year 369 B.C., when the city Messene was founded; but they may have been set up soon afterwards, as two of a chain of pillars defining the boundaries established on that occasion, when all the districts which had been Messenian were attached to the new city. Sitzová, standing on the western side of the ridge of *Taygetus*, is precisely in a point which is likely to have been traversed by the line of separation between Laconia and the eastern districts of Messenia, that is to say, those of Abia, Pharæ, and Thuria. The other occasions upon which a demarcation of boundaries between the two people may have occurred, are,—1. in B.C. 338,

when Philip, son of Amyntas, marched through the Peloponnesus, and restored to Argos, Tegea, Megalopolis, and Messene, some encroachments which had been made upon those states by Sparta[1]; 2. in B.C. 222, after the battle of Sellasia, when Antigonus Doson abolished the reforms of Cleomenes and replaced the ancient Spartan constitution[2]; 3. in B.C. 195, when T. Q. Flamininus reduced Nabis to submission, and obliged him to restore all the property he had taken from the Messenians[3]; 4. in B.C. 183, when Philopœmen subjugated Sparta, and deprived it of its northern dependency, the Beleminatis, for the purpose of annexing that district to Megalopolis[4]. But whatever demarcation of boundaries there may have been on these occasions, it would probably have been no more than a renewal of the line determined on at the time of the restoration of the Messenians to their country and the foundation of their city. In the year B.C. 182, when Messene, reduced to great distress, entered into the Achaian league, Abia, Thuria, and Pharæ separated themselves from Messene, and became each a distinct member of the same confederacy[5]. This separation of the three eastern districts from Messene continued probably to the time of Augustus, and may have suggested to him the extent of Messenian

[1] Vid. sup. p. 179, n. 2.

[2] Polyb. 2, 70; 9, 36. Tacit. Annal. 4, 43. Plutarch. Cleomen. 30. Pausan. Corinth. 9, 2.

[3] Liv. 34, 35. 40. Plutarch. Flamin. 13.

[4] Liv. 38, 32—34. Plutarch. Philopœm. 16.

[5] Polyb. 25, 1.

territory to be given to Sparta, when he punished the Messenians in this manner for having taken part with M. Antonius against him [1]. Pausanias, indeed, who states that Pharæ as well as Thuria were then made tributary to Sparta [2], does not say the same of Abia; but this follows of necessity; because, had Abia not been included among the dependencies of Sparta, the torrent Chœrius could not have been the northern boundary of the Eleuthero Laconians, as Pausanias has described it [3]. Pausanias found Laconia divided exactly as Augustus had decreed, and consisting of Eleuthero Laconia, which comprehended all the maritime districts from the torrent Chœrius westward to Brasiæ on the confines of Argolis eastward; while Sparta possessed all the interior of Laconia, (except the districts of Geronthræ and Marius, which were Eleuthero-Laconic cities [4],) together with the Messenian districts of Thuria, Pharæ, and Abia. The most remarkable effect of this arrangement was, that Sparta had no seaport on the Laconian Gulf, but at the north-eastern angle of

[1] Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν Θουρίαν ἐπέδωκεν Αὔγουστος. Αὐγούστῳ γὰρ βασιλεύοντι Ῥωμαίων ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντώνιος, γένει καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαῖος· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι προσέθεντο, ὅτι ἐφρόνουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Αὐγούστου, καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτων ἕνεκα Μεσσηνίοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλαττον, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐπεξῆλθε. Pausan. Messen. 31, 2.

[2] Βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὔγουστος τοὺς ἐν Φαραῖς Μεσσηνίους συντελεῖν ἐπέταξεν ἐς τὸ Λακωνικόν. Messen. 30, 1 (2).

[3] Μεσσηνίοις δὲ πρὸς τὴν σφετέραν τὴν ἀπονεμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸ Λακωνικὸν, ὅροι κατὰ τὴν Γερηνίαν εἰσὶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὀνομαζομένη Χοίριος νάπη. Messen. 1, 1.

[4] Pausan. Lacon. 21, 6 (7); 22, 5, 6 (6, 8).

the Messenian Gulf possessed the modern harbours of Armyró and Kalamáta. As we cannot doubt that the territory of Thuria and Pharæ comprehended the plain lying immediately below those two cities, the probability is very great that the Pamisus formed the boundary of Sparta under the Romans. The position in which I have placed *Limnæ* would thus have been just within the Spartan boundary; and thus also it was very natural that the people of Messene should have petitioned Tiberius to reverse that part of the decree of Augustus which had the effect of depriving them of Limnæ. They may have been indifferent to the dependency upon Sparta of the three Messenian districts which had so long been separated from them; or if not indifferent, they may have been hopeless of any change in the imperial decree upon this subject; but Limnæ, as a place of peculiar sanctity, which it was profitable perhaps as well as honourable to possess, and to which they had never ceased to assert their claim, might deserve every exertion which they could make to recover it. The claim of the Messenians to Limnæ was founded upon its having been in the Dentheliatis, a portion of the country which had been assigned to Messenia by the Heracleidæ, when the southern part of Peloponnesus was divided between Cresphontes and Aristodemus; that of the Lacedæmonians seems to have had no other basis than their conquest of all the country between Laconia and the left bank of the Pamisus at a very early period of their contests with Messenia; after which they pretended that the Pamisus was their boundary, as Euripides has described it in one of his lost tragedies, of which

the scene was Messenia in early times[1]. The country eastward of the Pamisus formed the portion of Messenia which was named Messola in the quinquepartite division of the country by Cresphontes; and Dentheliatis appears to have been the part of Messola lying nearest to the river. The name Messola still subsisted in the time of Strabo, who, speaking of the seven Homeric cities offered by Agamemnon to Achilles, and of the opinions of his time as to their position, remarks, "Some place Ire at the present Messola, which lies between Mount Taygetus and Messenia;" by Pausanias Ire is identified with Abia, which is in the same situation.

From the middle of the eighth century B.C., when the death of Teleclus at Limnæ furnished a convenient cause of quarrel to the Lacedæmonians, who were covetous of the rich lands of their neighbours, Limnæ was probably never in possession of the Messenians until their restoration to Messenia in the fourth century B.C., when the city Messene was built, when the districts of Abia, Pharæ, and

[1] Τὴν δὲ Λακωνικὴν καὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὁρίζειν αὐτοῦ (Euripidis sc.) φήσαντος

Πάμισον εἰς θάλασσαν ἐξορμώμενον,

οὐ συγχωρητέον, ὃς διὰ μέσης ῥεῖ τῆς Μεσσηνίας, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς νῦν Λακωνικῆς ἁπτόμενος. Strabo, p. 366.

Euripides here seems to have considered the boundary of the two provinces as it existed after the first encroachments of the Lacedæmonians, and during the three Messenian wars. This was an anachronism, if the tragedy to which the fragment belonged was his Cresphontes, but an anachronism of such a kind as often occurs in the tragic poets. Strabo alluded to Messenia according to its boundaries ethnically and in common parlance.

Thuria, which composed the ancient Messola, were again attached to Messenia, including Limnæ, which stood on the extreme frontier of Messola towards the next of the five divisions, probably Rhium [1]. But the Spartans soon began to encroach again upon the Messenian boundary; and not more than thirty years had elapsed from the foundation of Messene, when Philip, son of Amyntas, was called upon to restore Limnæ to the Messenians [2]. But their right to it ceased probably to be respected as soon as the power of Macedonia was exerted in a new direction. One of the measures of Antigonus Doson, when regulating the affairs of Sparta after the battle of Sellasia, was the restoration once more of Limnæ to the Messenians [3]. We can hardly suppose that Nabis, among his other acts of violence against the Messenians, one of which was the occupation of the city itself, failed to obtain possession of Limnæ; or in that case, that Philopœmen neglected to restore it. After this time, when all disputes among the Greeks were referred to the senate of Rome, or their representatives in Greece, Limnæ still continued to be a subject of contention between the two cities. Three times, according to Tacitus, Limnæ was assigned to the Messenians, namely, by Mummius in the year B.C. 146, by Attidius Geminus prætor of Achaia, and again by the Milesii, to whose arbitration the question had been submitted. And twice to the Lacedæmonians; the first time by Julius Cæsar and M. Anto-

[1] See Tr. in Morea, i. p. 457. [2] Tacit. Annal. 4, 43.
[3] Ibid.

nius, the second by Augustus; for Limnæ having been just within the confines of the Messenian districts which Augustus attached to Sparta, he virtually confirmed the award of Cæsar and Antonius when he gave those districts to Sparta. But Tiberius reversed so much of the decree of Augustus as related to Limnæ, and assigned it once more to Messenia. A situation in the plain of Nisí, near the left bank of the *Pamisus*, seems the only one which can render intelligible all the notices on Limnæ which occur in ancient history.

VOL. i. p. 413.

The French Commission observed that the walls and towers of the castle of Paleó Avaríno stand in many parts on Hellenic foundations, and that in some places three courses of the ancient work remain, consisting of a kind of masonry[1] which seems greatly to resemble that of Messene. Besides those remains of middle Hellenic antiquity, some foundations are traced of a more ancient inclosure at the northern end of the peninsula, with a descent to the little harbour of Voidhó-kiliá, by means of steps cut in the rock. Remains of walls of early date are to be seen likewise towards the southern extremity of the hill, among which is a tumulus,—all tending to prove that the entire peninsula of Avaríno was occupied at a remote period of history by a city which can have been no other than the Messenian

[1] Exp. Scientifique de la Morée, i. pl. vii.

or Neleian Pylus, if the distance of that place from Sparta and Mothone has been truly given by Thucydides and Pausanias; the former of whom places it at 400 stades from Sparta, the latter at 100 stades from Mothone[1]; for these are correctly the distances of Avarino from those two ancient sites. At Avarino, moreover, there is a large cavern, agreeing with that which Pausanias describes at Pylus as the stable of the oxen of Neleus and Nestor.

Pylus was abandoned after the conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians, and the site remained probably during the three centuries of Messenian servitude in the condition of a desert promontory, as Thucydides describes it, and which was called by the Lacedæmonians Coryphasium. The Athenians, however, who fortified it in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, were not ignorant that it was the same place as the Pylus of Nestor. At the time of the Achæan league, there was a town of Coryphasium, as we learn from a coin, which shows that Coryphasium was a member of that confederacy. The walls, therefore, at Paleó Avarino, of which the masonry resembles that of Messene, are those probably of a town which was built on the promontory Coryphasium after the restoration of Messenian independence, about the same time that the city of Messene was built, or soon after the battle of Leuctra, B.C. 371. Coryphasium appears not to have comprehended more than the Acropolis of Pylus; and it was upon the ruined walls of Coryphasium that the mediæval

[1] Thucyd. 4, 3. Pausan. Messen. 36, 1.

castle of Avarino was built[1]. The remains of an ancient mole at the southern extremity of the peninsula, a little within the strait, which forms the northern entrance of the bay of Navarino, marks the position of the ancient port of Pylus and Coryphasium on that side. Voidhó-kiliá furnished another on the north.

So thoroughly had the name of Pylus, as belonging to the position of Avarino, been forgotten before the time of Augustus, that the situation of the city of Nestor was then a subject of dispute among antiquaries; and Strabo, who was not much of a travelling geographer, perplexed instead of deciding the question: but Pausanias, who had carefully examined Messenia, as well as every other part of Greece, was better informed, and had no doubt that the Nelcian city had occupied the promontory Coryphasium, or the modern Paleó Avarino. The preservation of these remains of Pylus and Coryphasium is important, as serving to disprove the hypothesis entertained by some, that this peninsula is the ancient island Sphacteria, converted into a peninsula by an accumulation of sand at either end, and that the lagoon on its eastern side was the harbour of Pylus intended by Thucydides, in which, he says, there was at one end an opening capable of admitting two triremes, and at the other, an entrance capable of admitting eight or nine triremes. Undoubtedly such a hypothesis is admissible, inasmuch as there is scarcely a situation in Greece, on

[1] The latter name seems to be of considerable antiquity, by its being found in the Latin MSS. of Ptolemy: Pylus, qui et Abarmus (*l.* Abarinus). Ptolem. Geog. 3, 16.

the low coasts near the mouth of rivers, where by the operation of waters, salt or fresh, or both united, some change has not taken place since the times of ancient history. In the present instance, therefore, there is no great difficulty in imagining either that the lagoon may be of recent formation, or that it may be an ancient harbour converted into a lagoon by an accumulation of sand which has separated it from the sea. On the latter supposition, and assuming that it is the ancient harbour of Pylus, there would be no difficulty in conceiving that there may have been an opening at Voidhó-kiliá capable of admitting two triremes abreast into the water, which is now a lagoon, and another opening at the southern end of the hill of Paleó Avaríno, by which eight or nine triremes abreast may have entered the lagoon from the great harbour of Navaríno; while it is impossible to reconcile this estimate of the breadths of the two entrances with the actual openings into the bay of Navaríno, of which the southern is no less than 1200 yards wide, the northern about 150 yards. But the monumental evidences of the former existence of a city at Paleó Avaríno seem too strong to admit of any question as to the position of *Pylus*, or any doubt that the island of Navaríno is really the ancient Sphacteria, which never contained any town. Some error either in the information or in the text of Thucydides may be the more suspected, as 1200 yards and 150 yards, the real width of the two entrances into the bay of Navaríno, are not in the proportion of the number of triremes by which Thucydides estimates that width; they are not as 8 or 9 to 2, but as 16 to 2. Nor will fifteen

stades, the length which he ascribes to Sphacteria, agree either with the peninsula of Paleó Avarino or with the island of Navarino; the former being 7 stades in length, the latter 25.

VOL. i. p. 416.

Ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο

was a Parœmiac verse as old, at least, as the time of Aristophanes, when Pylus became famous at Athens by the Lacedæmonian disaster[1]. The hexameter was completed at a later time, with the words

Πύλος γε μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλος.

This occurred probably, when, in the disputes among geographers as to the site of the Neleian Pylus, a third or intermediate site in Triphylia, between the Elcian and Messenian sites, was brought forward by some speculators in geography as the true Pylus of Nestor. But we may fairly doubt whether such a third Pylus ever existed: of the other two and of their position there can be no question.

VOL. i. p. 428.

In the French map some ancient vestiges are marked at the mouth of the river Longovárdho. It is not unlikely that a small town stood there, bearing the same appellation as the river, namely, *Sela.*

[1] Eq. 1059.

VOL. i. p. 443.

The expectation here held out as to the discovery of ancient remains in the district of Saratzá, such as would confirm the opinion that *Asine* was situated at or near that village, has not been realized; nor is there any point on the shore between Koróni and Cape Gallo offering any appearance or probability of an ancient site. There can be little hesitation, therefore, in placing *Asine* at Koróni, *Asine* having been the first town to the eastward of Cape *Acritas*, and having been a place or position so remarkable as to have given name to the gulf. In both these particulars it agrees with Koróni. Perhaps in the ages when Greece became depopulated, the remaining inhabitants of *Corone* removed from Petalídhi to the deserted site of *Asine*, and carried with them their ancient name. Such migrations of names have not been uncommon in Grêece. The question then remains as to the positions of *Coryntheium* and *Colonis* or *Colonides*. The forty stades of Pausanias between *Asine* and *Colonides* places the latter exactly at Kastélia. This place, moreover, has very much the appearance of an ancient site; and the French Commission discovered here some remains of ancient buildings. We may conclude, therefore, that here stood *Colonis*.

As no similar vestiges of *Coryntheium* have been observed, we have to depend only upon its distance of 80 stades from Corone, as given by Pausanias, and the fact of its having been nearly, if not exactly, in the way from Corone to Asine, as appears from

all these places having been on or near the sea-shore. As the road distance from Petalídhi to Kastélia itself is not more than 80 stades, we may presume that *Corynthеium* was at no great distance from *Colonides*, perhaps separated only from that place by the river which joins the sea at half a mile's distance to the north of Kastélia, and which was probably the southern boundary of the district of *Corone;* for Colonides appears, from the words of Pausanias, to have been beyond the boundary of that district[1]. It must be confessed, however, that the distances of Pausanias are not sufficiently accurate to furnish any strong confirmation of the positions here assumed; his 80 stades between Corone and Corynthеium are about a tenth too much; his 40 stades between Asine and Cape Acritas are little more than half the true distance; and the 40 stades from Colonides to Asine are alone correct. Plutarch mentions Colonides as the place which Philopœmen moved from Argos to relieve, on hearing of the intention of Dinocrates and the Messenians to occupy it. He marched in a single day from Argos to Megalopolis, a distance of more than 400 stades, and on the following day was met by Dinocrates between Megalopolis and Messene, made prisoner, and put to death at Messene[2]. Livy, however, says that Corone was the place towards which Philopœmen was marching, which seems much more likely,

[1] τῇ Κορωναίων δὲ πόλει δῆμος Κολωνίδες. Messen. 34, 5 (8).

[2] The action occurred, according to Plutarch, (Philopœm. 18.) at the hill of Evander, some place probably among the heights of Makryplághi. Livy (39, 49) says only that they fought "in iniquâ valle."

as well from the smaller distance as the superior importance of Corone. Moreover, Livy, as following Polybius, is the better authority of the two. If the foregoing conclusions as to Asine, Colonis, and the Corynthеium are correct, it will of necessity follow that some of the observations in Travels in the Moréa, i. pp. 443—446, will require to be cancelled.

Vol. i. p. 480.

The French Commission observed a quadrangular opening four feet wide in the south-western branch of the bridge of Mavrozúmeno [1], which I did not see, and which might have served for the passage of water in winter, and for a foot-path under the bridge in summer.

Here six courses of Hellenic masonry still remain; and it appears from the shaping of the stones of these courses, where they are united to one of the modern arches, that the ancient arch was not formed on the principle of concentric wedges, but by courses shaped to a curve [2].

[1] Exp. Scient. de la Morée, i. p. 47. pl. 48.

[2] See above, p. 118, and Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 480.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

Vol. ii. p. 41.

Bishop Thirlwall, in his History of Greece[1], disapproves of the assertion here made, that the site for the new city of Megalopolis was chosen by Epaminondas. Undoubtedly it rests upon the authority of Pausanias alone, who, in stating that Epaminondas was the οἰκιστὴς or founder both of Messene and Megalopolis, and that he selected the site for Messene, leads naturally to the inference that the site of Megalopolis was also chosen by him. There would at least be some difficulty in conceiving that it could have been determined without his approbation, which, under the circumstances, was nearly the same thing as selecting the situation. As the greatest master of the art of war then living, he was the first to be consulted on such a question. The Arcadian confederacy, with its accompaniment, the formation of a new city, if not a measure originating with him, was supported by his authority,

[1] Vol. v. p. 91, note.

which, at that moment, was supreme: the opposition of some of the Arcadians made only his immediate interference the more necessary; and he was so zealous in the prosecution of these designs, that he supplied 1000 Thebans to protect the Arcadians, while employed in building the walls, from interruption by the Lacedæmonians. Nor is it easy to believe that the site was fixed upon without due consideration. By its position in a plain, Megalopolis was made to resemble Mantineia, Tegea, and Sparta: it seems to have been designedly placed at the same time as near as possible to the passes leading from Western Arcadia into Messenia and Laconia, consistently with a due regard to the supply of water. The Lacedæmonians had an immense advantage, either for attack or defence, in the position of Sparta at the junction of the two great routes leading from Laconia into Arcadia. Tegea, at the northern end of the eastern passes, furnished on that side of Arcadia a protection which was deficient in Western Arcadia until Megalopolis was built. The preference of a plain for the new city, so different from the principles which appear to have been entertained more anciently, when a rocky and difficult access generally formed part of the defences of a Greek city, was the effect of advancing civilization, and of the decline of the small republics, attended by the transference of a part or sometimes of the whole of their population to the chief city of the nation. For such larger populations, and for the more active communications arising from them, a level situation was more convenient. The same social and political changes

led to a more centralized military system, and to those other improvements in the art of war which were brought to perfection by Epaminondas, and were accompanied by the discovery, that a wall in a plain, defended at regular intervals by towers, might be made to furnish as effectual a defence as a wall placed upon precipices and protected by ravines.

VOL. ii. p. 44.

Although the French Commission found "no ruins but of the middle ages" at Londári [1], Major Harriott in 1831 observed some Hellenic remains in the castle-wall at that place [2]. Here stood, therefore, one of the towns or fortresses of the Parrhasii, or Ægytæ. If *Cromi*, as I have supposed, was so near as Samará, Londári could scarcely have been any thing more than one of those castles which appear to have been numerous in all the Arcadian districts confining on Laconia, especially in the times preceding the foundation of Megalopolis.

VOL. ii. p. 59.

The difficulty here mentioned, arising from Pausanias having described Methydrium as situated on

[1] Boblaye, Rech. Géogr. p. 170.
[2] Journal of Geogr. Soc. v. p. 366.

a lofty hill between two rivers[1], whereas the extant remains called Palátia are in a low situation *above* the junction of the rivers on the right bank of one of them, has not been solved by the French Commission. M. Boblaye says: "Le territoire de Methydrium renferme plusieurs châteaux forts du moyen âge; entre autres, Argyró-kastro, Angelókastro, et le Paleó-kastro au-dessous de Kamenítza, qui demanderaient à être étudiés, ainsi que la ville de Methydrium elle-même, qui n'a été aperçue que de loin." It is evident, therefore, that *Methydrium* has not yet been sufficiently explored; and it is by no means unlikely that some other vestiges of that city may yet be found in a situation more consonant with the words of Pausanias, perhaps on the heights of Pyrgo; for these heights are embraced by the two rivers flowing respectively from above Pyrgo and from Karfoxyliá, the former of which appears to answer to the *Malætas*, and the latter to the *Mylaon*. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the ruins at Palátia are those of a part of *Methydrium*, in whatever situation the remainder of the city may have stood:—

1. Because the walls are those of a fortified

[1] ὠνομάσθη μὲν δὴ Μεθύδριον, ὅτι κολωνός ἐστιν (οὐκ?) ὑψηλὸς Μαλοίτα τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Μυλάοντος μέσος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ὀρχόμενος ᾤκιζε . . . . . ἔστι δὲ ἐν Μεθυδρίῳ Ποσειδῶνός τε Ἱππίου ναός· οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μυλάοντί ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ὄρος Θαυμάσιον καλούμενον κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαλοίταν (al. Μολοττὸν) . . . . . ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους σπήλαιον τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ὅτι μὴ γυναιξὶ μόναις ἱεραῖς τῆς θεοῦ, ἀνθρώπων γε οὐδενὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἔστι τῶν ἄλλων. Μεθυδρίου δὲ ὡς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει σταδίους Νυμφασία πηγή. Arcad. 36, 1 seq.

place, and there was no other city in this part of *Arcadia* except Phalanthus, which could not have stood so far to the northward of the ridge which separates the vale of Vytína from that of Alonístena.

2. The fountain *Nymphasia*, which is half a mile to the east of Vytína, is at a distance from Palátia agreeing perfectly with the thirty stades which Pausanias gives as the distance between Methydrium and Nymphasia.

The remains of a temple which I discovered on the bank of the river of Karfoxyliá were observed also by Gell[1], and the temple agrees with that of Neptune Hippius, supposing that river to be the Mylaon, near which Pausanias expressly states that temple to have been situated. The description of Mount Thaumasius, as situated above the Malœtas, is ambiguous, the river of Pyrgo descending *between* two mountains: a discovery of the cave of Rhea would decide this question as well as that concerning the rivers.

There is still, however, another mode of obviating the difficulties which attend the description of Methydrium by Pausanias, namely, by supposing the two rivers Mylaon and Malœtas, between which Methydrium stood, to have been not the rivers of Karfoxyliá and Pyrgo, but those of Pyrgo and Nimnítza, which latter is a small stream flowing on the eastern side of the ruins[2], and joining the river of Pyrgo

[1] Itinerary of the Moréa, p. 126.

[2] It is mentioned in Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 57, as having been crossed by me at 7h. 20m. on the 21st May.

above the union of the latter with the river of Karfoxyliá. But on this supposition it would be desirable to emend the text of Pausanias by the addition of οὐκ, a word which has not unfrequently been omitted by his copiers; for κολωνὸς οὐκ ὑψηλὸς will perfectly suit the height upon which the extant ruins are situated. With this alteration in the text, and the supposition above mentioned as to the two rivers, the description of Pausanias will agree with present appearances. But it would follow in this case, that the temple on the bank of the river of Karfoxyliá was not the temple of Neptune, and that the ancient name of that river remains unknown.

VOL. ii. p. 69.

The following are the heights of the mountains mentioned in the perioptic view from Mount Zakkúka; they are the result of barometrical measurements taken by the French Commission, reduced from metres into English feet:—

METRES.		ENG. FEET.
1346	1. Fanarítiko or Zakkúka, called Mont Paleókastron in the French map (*Cotylius*).	4416
2224	2. O'lonos	7297
1016	3. Sandameriótiko, *Scollis*	3333
2355	4. Khelmós, *Aroania*	7726
2374	5. Zy'ria, *Cyllene*	7788
1559	6. Apáno-Khrepa, *Mœnalus*	5115
1981	7. St. Elias of the *Mœnalian* range . . .	6499
1252	8. Tzimbarú, *Belemina*	4108
1772	9. Mountain of Turníki, *Artemisius* . . .	5814
1217	10. Róino, *Parthenius*	3993

METRES.		ENG. FT.
1937	11. Málevo, *Parnon*	6355
914	12. Hill of Beziane, called Kurkúla in the French map	2999
2409	13. St. Elias, *Taletum* of *Taygetus* . . .	7902
957	14. Lykódhemo, *Temathia*	3140
1391	15. Summit of the Kondovúnia, called Sekhi in the French map	4564
1388	16. Tetrázi, *Cerausius*	4554
1420	17. Dhioförti, *Lycæus*	4659
1222	18. Mountain of A'lvena, *Minthe*	4009
772	19. Mountain of Smerna, *Lapithus* . . .	2533
1898	20. *Erymanthus*, highest summit	6227

The following are the heights of some other summits of the *Peloponnesus*, by the same authorities:—

METRES.		ENG. FT.
1927	Voidhiá, *Panachaicum*	6322
1759	Mavron Oros, *Chelydorea*	5771
1102	Ortholíthi	3615
575	*Acro-Corinthus*	1886
802	*Ithome*	2631
583	Kary'tena	1913
630	*Mantineia*	2067

Vol. ii. p. 87.

I have already given some reasons for believing that the ruins of the Gothic church here described, belonged to a monastery named O'siva, or I'sova[1]: we have seen that the situation agrees with the occurrence of the name in the movements of the Franks, or their opponents, as related in the Anonymous Chronicle. The victory gained over the Greeks at Prinítza was attributed in great measure to the aid of the madonna of O'siva, indignant at the sacri-

[1] See above, p. 154.

lege of the Greeks in burning her monastery: it is not an improbable conjecture, that the Gothic church and monastery, of which I have described the remains, was built by William de Villehardouin, after the battle of Prinítza, or about the year 1265. I regret to observe, that no notice occurs of this ruin in the map of the French geographical commission, nor any mention of it in the works of M. Bory de St. Vincent, or of M. Boblaye, or of any other recent travellers. Has it been destroyed, like *Olympia*, by the masons of Lala, or in the course of the wars of the Greek revolution, or in renewing the Greek villages since the peace?

VOL. ii. p. 92.

According to Stephanus[1], Heræa of Arcadia was also called Sologorgus; but as he adds that it was towards Messene, no great reliance can be placed upon his testimony.

VOL. ii. p. 102.

Besides Lycophron, as here cited, Callimachus has also noticed the Erinnys Telphusæa. The name Telphusa had doubtless the same etymon as the Bœotian Τιλφῶσσα, and the Phocian Δελφοί. Τέλφουσσα was the form employed by Polybius as well as Callimachus, but Pausanias followed the local orthography, which is confirmed by the coins inscribed

[1] In voc. Ἡραία.

ΘΕΛΠΟΥΣΙΩΝ. Some of these coins show that Thelpusa belonged to the Achæan confederacy; and from a similar authority we learn, that the neighbouring Aliphera or Alipheira was also included in the league [1].

VOL. ii. p. 109.

In the French map, the three sources on the edge of the plain, between Karnési and Sudhená, do not form a stream flowing "through the gorge of Karnési into the vale of *Clitor*," as here stated; but, after forming an inundation, they descend into a katavóthra. The French Commission seems not to have noticed the foundations of the temple of Diana Hemeresia at the middle source.

VOL. ii. p. 116.

The statement here made that Ghermotzáni stands in the valley of the Upper *Peneius*, is erroneous; though it is very near the sources of that stream. In fact, the reader will find a contradiction in vol. ii. p. 235, where the statement is correct, that the waters near Ghermotzáni flow to the river *Erymanthus*. That town is, in fact, exactly at the sources of the river anciently called *Aroanius*, which joins the *Erymanthus* at *Psophis*.

[1] Mionnet, Supp. iv. p. 18, 294.—Millingen, Sylloge of Ined. Coins, p. 60, pl. 11, No. 33.

VOL. ii. p. 128.

Of this temple of Jupiter Olympius, or some other temple of Jupiter at Patræ, as well as of a temple of Hercules, which Pausanias has not noticed, Pliny says that the cella was of brick, and the epistylia and columns of stone[1]. The palace of Crœsus at Sardeis, that of the kings of Pergamus at Tralleis, and that of Mausolus at Halicarnassus, were all of similar construction[2]. The last is thus described by Vitruvius:—"Item Halicarnassi potentissimi regis domus cùm Proconnesio marmore omnia habet ornata, parietes habet latere structos, qui ad hoc tempus egregiam præstant firmitatem, ita tectoriis operibus expoliti ut vitri perluciditatem videantur habere."

VOL. ii. p. 155.

The *Peirus* is here incorrectly described as skirting the foot of Mount Movri. On the contrary, below Prevezó and the site of *Pharæ*, it tends to the hills on the northern side of the valley, and follows them in a western direction, until, within a mile of the sea, it makes a sudden bend to the north. This course of the *Peirus*, along the northern side of the vale of *Pharæ* has been caused by the circumstance, that all its principal tributaries are from the mountains to the south, the deposits from which have raised the ground on the southern side of the valley.

[1] Plin. H. N. 35, 14 (49). [2] Vitruv. 2, 8.

VOL. ii. p. 157.

The remark is here made, that "When the Achaic league was revived after its temporary dissolution by the power of the Macedonian kings, the Olenii refused to join it; whence it may be inferred, that Olenus was at that time a place of some importance."—Upon which Bishop Thirlwall, in his History of Greece[1], observes in a note, "Colonel Leake's statement, that the Olenii refused to join the revived Achaic league, is as little warranted by Strabo's expression, as his inference that Olenus was at that time a place of some importance." This observation of the bishop appears to have been made, because my statement is adverse to his own text, in which the authority of Polybius[2] is cited, to show that Olenus had been abandoned by its inhabitants before the time of the revived Achaic confederacy. Polybius, however, does not say that Olenus was desolate at the time of the revival of the league, but in his own time. His words are these: *τό γε μὴν κοινὸν πολίτευμα, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, ἐν δημοκρατείᾳ συνέχειν ἐπειρῶντο· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐκ δώδεκα πόλεων, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν συμβαίνει διαμένειν, πλὴν Ὠλένου καὶ Ἑλίκης, τῆς πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης καταποθείσης*[3].

Strabo thus speaks of the restoration of the confederacy: *Ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων λυθείσης τῆς κοινωνίας, ἀνέλαβον σφᾶς πάλιν κατὰ μικρόν· ἤρξαν δὲ, Πύῤῥου στρατεύσαντος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τέσσαρες συνιοῦσαι πόλεις, ὧν ἦσαν Πάτραι καὶ Δύμη· εἶτα προσελάμ-*

[1] viii. p. 82. [2] 2, 41. [3] Polyb. 2, 41.

βανόν τινας τῶν δώδεκα, πλὴν Ὠλένου καὶ Ἑλίκης· τῆς μὲν οὐ συνελθούσης, τῆς δ' ἀφανισθείσης ὑπὸ κύματος[1].

From a comparison of these two passages, I still infer that in the year B. C. 280, when the Achaic league was renewed, Olenus still existed as a city, but that between that time and about B. C. 160, when Polybius wrote, the Olenii had abandoned their city, retiring to the neighbouring towns of Dyme, Peiræ, and Euryteiæ[2]. The οὐ συνελθούσης of Strabo has no intelligible meaning, unless Olenus was still in existence at the time of the revival of the league. Undoubtedly, if a fact alone were in question, the historian of the league would be a better testimony than the geographer of a later age: but Polybius does not assert that Olenus had ceased to be a city when the league was revived; he only says it was no longer a city in his own time. Helice had ceased to exist long before Olenus, namely, in the year B. C. 373.

VOL. ii. p. 167.

The doubts here expressed as to the course of the *Larissus*, and its branch of Aly Tjeleby', are resolved by the French map, which represents the course of the streams at a season when the inundations are much smaller than in February, the season of my journey. The streams unite not far from the sea, about midway between Cape Kalogriá and Porto Kunupéli.

[1] Strabo, p. 384. [2] Strabo, p. 386. Pausan. Achaic. 18, 1.

VOL. ii. p. 176.

The promontory here intended by Cape Glaréntza, or Klaréntza, and often so called by the Greek seamen, is the western projection of the peninsula of Khlemútzi. In the French map, Tornése is the name attached to this cape, and Glaréntza is that which lies immediately on the western side of the bay of Glaréntza, and is the northern point of the peninsula of Khlemútzi. Cape Tornése is the Chelonatas of Strabo and Pliny, the former of whom identifies it by mentioning the island near it; the latter by stating its distance of two miles from Cyllene, now Glaréntza. There can be little doubt, however, that *Chelonatas* was often synonymous with the whole peninsula of Khlemútzi, the name having been taken from its supposed resemblance to a tortoise. Khlemútzi, or Khlomútzi, is derived from χλωμὸς, χλεμὸς, or χελμὸς, a name often attached to round grassy hills, in reference to their verdure, Hellenicè χλόα.

The occasion of the construction of the fortress of Khlemútzi is related in the Anonymous Metrical Chronicle, on the Wars of the Franks in the Morea [1].

I have already stated that Kastro Tornése is the ordinary name of this castle, and Khlemútzi, that of the neighbouring village; that the castle is said to have contained the mint of the French princes, and that Tornése is probably a name derived from the French coins called Tournois [2]. This opinion receives support from the Anonymous Chronicle, from which it appears that the castle was built very soon

[1] Buchon, Chron. Etrangères, p. 65. [2] Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 173.

after Geoffroy II. had been vested with the right of coining money by his liege lord, the emperor of Constantinople, and that this fortress served as the citadel of Glaréntza[1]. It is remarkable, that all the extant coins of the Frank princes of Achaia, are inscribed with the words "De Clarencia," implying that they were coined at Glaréntza.

The reigning prince, Geoffroy II., soon after his return from his meeting with the emperor, Robert de Courtenay, at Larissa, resolved upon attempting to obtain possession of the places then held by the Greeks, namely, Corinth, Argos, Anápli, and Monemvasía, and, among his preparations, called upon the Latin bishops to contribute to the expense of the enterprise from the revenues of the fiefs, which had been granted to them at the time of the conquest, under the usual obligation of furnishing military aid in time of war. But those priests refused to comply with his demand, pretending that they held only from the pope, and owed no more than honour to the prince. Upon this refusal, Geoffroy seized their fiefs, and, while the prelates excommunicated him, employed the revenues of three years in building the castle of Khlemútzi. When it was finished, he made his excuses to the pope, received absolution from him, and restored to the bishops their lands. The solidity of the construction of the castle of Khlemútzi shows that William neither spared the ecclesiastical re-

[1] The Chronicle alludes particularly to the protection which the castle afforded to the harbour:

Ἀμὴ ἔβαλε καὶ ἔκτισαν κάστρον ἀφιρωμένον,
Ὁποῦ φυλάττει τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοῦ Μορεὼς λιμένα.

venues, nor was insensible of the importance of the place, which not only protected Andravídha and Glaréntza, but afforded, like the lines of Torres Vedras, a place of retreat near the principal harbour, from whence, under more favourable circumstances, the war might be renewed.

An unfounded opinion has long prevailed, and has been repeated by some of the latest travellers, that the name of the English dukedom of Clarence was derived from Glaréntza or Klaréntza, the modern name of *Cyllene*. But no royal or noble family of England is known to have possessed any territory in the *Peloponnesus*, and there can be no question, that Clarentia or Clarencia was the district of Clare, in Suffolk. The title was first given in 1362, by Edward III., to his third son Lionel, when the latter succeeded to the estates of Gilbert, earl of Clare and Gloucester, uncle to his wife, who was heiress also of her father, William de Burg, earl of Ulster. On Lionel's death, the title became extinct for want of heirs, and was thrice renewed with the same result: in 1411, by king Henry IV., in favour of his second son, Thomas Plantagenet; in 1461, by king Edward IV., in favour of his brother, George Plantagenet; and in 1789, by king George III., in favour of his third son, William Henry. Κλαρέντζα, Γλάρεντζα, or Γλαράντζα, is a name found in other parts of Greece, and appears to be derived from the Romaic Γλάρος, a water-fowl so called. It is possible that this error as to the title of Clarence may have been partly caused by the identity of the Latin form of the name of the two places, although so widely distant from one another.

VOL. ii. p. 190.

From another passage in Pausanias, one might suppose that the Jardanus was the same as the Neda. Pausanias states, that a battle represented on the box of Cypselus, at Olympia, was supposed by some to relate to the Ætolians, under Oxylus, fighting against the Eleians; by others to be a battle of Pylii and Arcadians, near Phigaleia, and the river Jardanus[1].

VOL. ii. p. 192.

The existence of a small island on the western side of the isthmus of the promontory *Ichthys* or Katákolo, here asserted on oral information, has not been confirmed by the French Commission; but as they seem never to have adverted to the ancient evidence as to such an island, or even to have observed the Hellenic remains in the walls of Pondikó-kastro, which favour the opinion of its being the site of *Pheia*, they may possibly have overlooked some small island on this shore, or some small peninsula which has formerly been an island, and which would decide whether the harbour of *Pheia* is to be identified with the modern port of Katákolo, or with the anchorage on the western side of the isthmus of Pondikó-kastro, or with that at Port Khortús a little further west. M. Boblaye supposes the ancient

[1] Πυλίους δὲ εἶναι καὶ Ἀρκάδας παρά τε Φιγάλειαν πόλιν καὶ ποταμὸν μαχομένους Ἰάρδανον. El. pr. 18, 2 (6).

town *Pheia* to have stood either at Port Khortús or at Skafídhia, although no ancient remains are observable in either place, and that the river Skafídhia was the Jardanus of Homer[1]. The authorities to be consulted in this question are Strabo, Thucydides, and Polybius. Strabo says[2]: "Beyond Chelonatas occurs a considerable part of the sea-coast of the Pisatæ, and then the promontory Pheia. Here was formerly a small town[3] (of the same name), and there is a small river near[4], conformably to the words of Homer:

Φειᾶς παρ' τείχεσσιν, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα[5].

Some consider Pheia the beginning of Pisatis. Before it is a small island and a harbour, from whence[6] the distance to Cephallenia is 120 stades. Then occurs the discharge of the Alpheius into the sea, distant 280 stades from Chelonatas, and 540 stades from Araxus."

Here the distances by the coast-line are tolerably correct, if we substitute Ζάκυνθον for Κεφαλληνίαν in the text, which seems justifiable, as Cape Katákolo is opposed to the southern promontories of Zákytho, and its harbour is the ordinary place of arrival from and departure to that island, whereas *Cephallenia* is opposite to *Chelonatas* and *Araxus*. It is not necessary to look for the river Jardanus, if Χάας[7]

[1] Recherches Géogr. sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 131.

[2] p. 342, 343.

[3] πολίχνη.

[4] ἔστι καὶ ποτάμιον πλησίον.

[5] Il. H. 135.

[6] πρόκειται νησίον καὶ λιμὴν, ἔνθεν, &c.

[7] Χαϊάππα or Χαϊάφφα may possibly be corrupted or derived from Χάα, but the places do not coincide if Strabo is to be

be substituted for Φειᾶς in the text of Homer; for which Strabo himself affords reasons [1].

That the harbour of Pheia was on the western side of the promontory Ichthys seems clearly indicated by Thucydides in his narrative of the circumstances which attended the debarkation of the Athenians on the coast of Elis in the first year of the Peloponnesian war [2]. The Athenians sailed from Methone, disembarked near Pheia, and ravaged the country for two days, during which they had an action with 300 Eleians, when a strong wind on a harbourless coast endangering their fleet [3], they sailed round the promontory Ichthys into the port of Pheia. The place of debarkation, therefore, appears to have been the shore of the ancient *Letrinœa* to the eastward of Katákolo, between it and the mouth of the *Alpheius*. Here on the side of Pheia nearest to the place from whence they came, they found a beach and anchorage well suited to their purpose, but much exposed to a southerly wind, on the occurrence of which not even the harbour of Katákolo is safe. Meantime the Messenians and some others who had not been in time to re-embark employed themselves in taking Pheia, but on the assembling of a large force of Eleians evacuated it and made good their retreat on board the Athenian

trusted. Khaiáffa is the name of the pass at the foot of the rocks anciently called Ἀχαιαὶ πέτραι. (Strabo, p. 347. Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 66.) Chaa, according to Strabo (p. 348), was near Lepreum.

[1] p. 348. See Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 190.

[2] Thucyd. 2, 25. [3] χειμαζόμενοι ἐν ἀλιμένῳ χωρίῳ.

fleet which had sailed round the promontory to receive them, and which then departed and ravaged other parts of the coast [1].

Thucydides having described the harbour to which the fleet sailed after rounding Ichthys, not as the port of Pheia, but as a harbour in the district of Pheia [2], Port Khortús, which is little more than a mile distant from Katákolo, may very possibly have been the harbour intended by the historian. Polybius confirms Strabo as to the existence of a harbour at Pheia as well as of an island [3], but otherwise throws no light upon this question, which can only be resolved by identifying the island. In the mean time it is to be observed, that the placing of the harbour at Khortús will not invalidate the evidence as to the position of *Pheia* itself, afforded by the remarkable height and by the Hellenic remains at Pondikó-kastro; while the position of that place on the isthmus of Katákolo will sufficiently account for that promontory having been known by the name of *Pheia*, as well as by that of *Ichthys*; a circumstance which may have led Strabo into the error of describing two promontories instead of one.

[1] καὶ ὕστερον αἵ τε νῆες περιπλεύσασαι ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐξανάγονται ἐκλιπόντες Φειάν· καὶ τῶν Ἠλείων ἡ πολλὴ ἤδη στρατιὰ προσεβεβοηθήκει· παραπλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐδήουν.

[2] τὸν ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ λιμένα.

[3] ἀποστέλλειν τὰ πορθμεῖα τῆς Ἐλείας εἰς τὴν Φειάδα καλουμένην νῆσον. Polyb. 4, 9.

VOL. ii. p. 206.

To the other authorities indicative of the site of Macistus may be added that of Stephanus of Byzantium. He places it to the eastward of the Lepreatis[1]; but this is obviously an error, as Arcadia bordered upon Lepreatis in that direction; and considering the frequent negligence or ignorance of the ancients as to bearings, it is of no great importance. The tradition that Macistus and Phrixa were named from two brothers, tends to place Macistus in the same part of Triphylia as Phrixa; and an occurrence in the Hellenic history of Xenophon leads to a similar conclusion. When Agis, who had been deterred by an earthquake from proceeding in his invasion of the Eleia on the northern side, advanced in the following year (B. C. 400) from the opposite direction, entering Triphylia through the Aulon of Messenia, the first people who joined him were the Lepreatæ, next the Macistii, and then the Epitalii, who were near the Alpheius; having passed which river, the king received the submission of the Letrinæi, Amphidoli, and Marganenses[3]. As Macistus was in a lofty situation, and apparently not far from *Samicum*, or the Paleókastro of Khaiáffa, its ruins will perhaps be found in some part of the heights behind Khaiáffa, which were anciently known by the name of *Lapithus*.

[1] Μάκιστος, πόλις τῆς Τριφυλίας ἣν ᾤκησαν Καύκωνες, ἀπὸ Μακίστου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φρίξου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Φρίξα πόλις, ἐπ' ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ κειμένη, πρὸς ἕω τῆς Λεπρεατικῆς. Stephan. in v.

[2] ἐν Ἐπιταλίῳ πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ. Xenoph. Hellen. 3, 2, § 21.

[3] 3, 2, § 18.

VOL. ii. p. 211.

The passage of Strabo relating to Harpinna shows the caution with which his geographical testimony is to be received in opposition to the historians or any other authors in whose text geographical information occurs incidentally. His words are: *Παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ἄρπιννα, καὶ αὕτη τῶν ὀκτὼ, δι' ἧς ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Παρθενίας ὡς εἰς Φηραίαν ἰόντων· ἡ δὲ Φηραία ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Δυμαίας καὶ τοῦ Βουπρασίου καὶ τῆς Ἤλιδος, ἅπερ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀρκτὸν τῇ Πισάτιδι*[1]. It is evident that Strabo has confounded Heræa with Pharæ in Achaia, which is situated as Strabo states; nor is his description of the site of Harpinna less accurate, if we substitute *Ἡραία* for *Φηραία*, Harpinna having stood twenty stades to the eastward of Olympia on the road which led along the right bank of the Alpheius to Heræa, as Lucian[2] and Pausanias[3] clearly show.

Considerable remains of the walls of Harpinna were seen by Major Harriott, in 1831, on the river of Miráka, a little to the northward of the village of that name[4].

VOL. ii. p. 213.

According to the French map, Rasa is a ruined village, not, as here stated, in the vale of the *Selinus* or river of Ladikú, but nearly opposite to the site of *Pisa*.

[1] p. 356. [2] De Morte Peregrini, 35.
[3] Eliac. post. 21, 6.
[4] Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc. v. p. 366.

VOL. ii. p. 229.

The French Commission observed some ruins at Agrápidho-khóri, at the junction of the *Ladon* and *Peneius*; their direct distance from *Elis* is 7 G. M. Neither this nor the distance from *Elis* of the ruins on the *Ladon* near Kuloglí, which I have supposed to be those of the *Eleian Pylus*, are inconsistent with the 80 stades of Pausanias[1], or the 12 M. P. of Pliny[2]. But the site near Kuloglí is to be preferred for that of *Pylus*, because, although not in a direct line between *Elis* and *Olympia*, it is not so far removed from that line, that it may not have been in the mountain-road between those two places, which we may easily conceive to have followed for some distance the valley of the *Ladon* in this part of its course. Agrápidho-khóri, on the contrary, could not have been in any ordinary track from *Elis* to *Olympia*. As to the words of Pausanias regarding the Ladon, they do not exactly indicate at what distance below Pylus that river joined the Peneius. Possibly, on considering that which is stated concerning *Marganeæ* in Travels in Moréa, ii. p. 193 seq., Agrápidho-khóri may appear to have been the site of that city; in which case the *Amphidoli* and *Acroreii* may have divided between them the country eastward of this point as far as the *Erymanthus*, *Amphidolia* to the west, and *Acrorcia*

[1] Πύλου δὲ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ δῆλα τὰ ἐρείπια κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐστὶν ἐς Ἦλιν ὀρεινὴν ὁδόν· ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ στάδια ἐς Ἦλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πύλου. . . . . παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ποταμὸς Λάδων κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Πηνειόν. El. post. 22, 3 (5).

[2] H. N. 4, 5 (6).

to the east, comprising the greater part of Mount *Pholoë* and the southern heights of Mount Astrá. On the mountain of Notená the French Commission observed two Hellenic fortresses. These are probably two of the *Acroreian* towns. That which is situated near the village of Skiádha or Skaï'dha, being the more considerable and the furthest removed from the *Arcadian* frontier, may be *Opus;* and the stream which there flows from a small lake into the *Peneius*, may be the river *Opus* of Elis, mentioned by the Scholiast of Pindar[1]. *Thalamæ* was probably in the rocky recesses of Mount *Scollis*, perhaps at Portes, that name seeming to indicate the existence, or former existence, of ruins in this situation.

VOL. ii. p. 230.

The branch of the *Peneius* which flows through a narrow valley on the eastern side of the mountain of Portes, anciently *Scollis*, joins the Peneius not *below* but *above* the junction of the *Ladon* at Agrapidho-khóri. Sandaméri, as I learn from the French map, is not in the eastern but the western valley of *Scollis*.

Sandaméri and Gastúni seem to be the only two names which the residence of the French in this quarter of the Moréa during the greatest part of the 13th century has produced. Next to the Villehardouins, the Saint-Omers were the most illustrious family which settled in Greece.

[1] Πρωτογένεια δὲ κατὰ μέν τινας Προμηθέως, κατὰ δὲ ἑνίους Ὀποῦντος τοῦ ἐν Ἠλιδι ποταμοῦ. Schol. Pindar. Ol. 9, 64.

VOL. ii. p. 249.

In the French map the ruins at the sources of the river of Paleá Katúna are marked as those of *Paus*. But there is a difficulty in this, arising from the distances in the French map itself, which are doubtless correct. Pausanias says that Seiræ, or the Chains, which was the boundary of the Psophidii and Cleitorii, was near Paus, that is to say, a little to the west of that place; and that Seiræ was 30 stades from *Psophis*, now Tripótamo. But the situation of *Paus* in the French map is 5 G. M. from Tripótamo, or not less than 50 stades. If we adhere, therefore, to the number of stades in Pausanias, Seiræ was near Dekhúni; and the ruins at the sources of the river of Paleá Katúna are not those of *Paus* but of *Scotane*, the westernmost of three places in the forest of *Soron*. Some remains of this forest, which extended from near *Paus* to the *Ladon*, are still observable in the vale of Paleá Katúna, northward of Strézova[1]. It will be seen that these remarks comprehend a correction of the assertion in Tr. in the Moréa, ii. p. 250, that 30 stades from Psophis "will carry us exactly to the division of waters between the two rivers of Lópesi and Paleá Katúna;" for, in truth, that division is about 50 stades from *Psophis*, or not far short of midway from the *Erymanthus* to the *Ladon*, the courses of the two tributaries of those two rivers being not only exactly opposite in their direction, but nearly equal in length. A small plain separates or contains their sources: on its eastern side are the remains of *Scotane*.

[1] Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 107.

VOL. ii. p. 251.

The French map has identified the *Arsen* with a stream which rises at Velimákhi, in a mountain three miles south of *Psophis*, and which joins the *Ladon* a mile below *Thelpusa*, having pursued a course westward of, and nearly parallel to, the north and south line, which is the general direction from *Psophis* to *Thelpusa*. The route in Pausanias, therefore, if it had touched this river at all, would (having followed it from its sources) not have quitted it until one and a half mile short of Thelpusa, and would have crossed the Ladon at Thelpusa itself. But the ascending course of the Ladon above Thelpusa is three miles northward, and then nine miles eastward; and the road which Pausanias was describing, passed through *Tropæa*, which was on the *Ladon*. Evidently, therefore, that road could not have followed so westerly a line as the river of Velimákhi, nor even the direct line between the two cities, because that would have reached the *Ladon* at not more than thirty stades from *Thelpusa;* whereas Tropæa, which was on the left bank of the Ladon, was sixty-five stades from Thelpusa, *plus* the distance between Tropæa and the river Arsen. Whether or not, therefore, there was a more direct route from Psophis to Thelpusa, touching the Ladon at thirty stades north of the latter, there can be no question that the route described by Pausanias, for the sake, perhaps, of comprehending the places upon it, was very circuitous, and lay to the eastward of the direct line: it is not unlikely that the modern bridge, called

the Lady's-bridge [1], stands upon ancient foundations, and that the situation of this bridge, as well as the direction of the roads leading to it, have in all ages been determined by geographical causes, of which there is one very obvious, in the steep ridges, between the abrupt openings of which the Ladon flows, from Syriámu to Vánena (*Thelpusa*). These suppositions may warrant the conclusion, that *Tropæa* was on the left bank of the *Ladon* near the Lady's-bridge, that the *Arsen* was the river of Syriámu Kurtághi, and that *Caus* stood not far from Vervítzi, or perhaps at the castle of Galatá. There is indeed, or was (for it is not marked on the French map), another bridge between Spáthari, a village on the heights to the left of the *Ladon*, and a ruined castle on its right bank, which shows that a road here crossed the *Ladon*. This bridge may possibly have been on the line of an ancient route leading from *Elis* to *Thelpusa*, and on the line also of a *direct* route from *Psophis* to *Thelpusa*. We may find perhaps some confirmation of the identity of the *Arsen* with the river of Syriámu, in the observation that this river is one of the principal tributaries of the *Ladon*, and that three of these are already identified, namely, the river of Katzánes with the *Aroanius*, the river of Tara with the *Tragus*, and the river of Langádhia with the *Tuthoa*. Those, however, who regard the river of Velimáki as the *Arsen*, will doubtless be inclined to apply the same argument to that river.

[1] τὸ γεφύρι τῆς Κυρᾶς.

VOL. ii. p. 254.

There is some difficulty in assigning ancient names to the several great summits, which give rise to the Erymanthus, Peneius, and Peirus. O'lonos is a name derived probably from the earliest times, although not occurring in any ancient author. It is also the Lampeia of Strabo, as appears by his remark, that Scollis, which he describes so as not to be mistaken, is adjacent to Lampeia[1]. If we may presume the proper mount *Erymanthus* to have been the highest of the summits which give rise to the river *Erymanthus*, we must identify it with Kallifóni; indeed all the tributaries of the *Erymanthus*, except the *Aroanius*, originate in Kallifóni, or in the subordinate heights adjoining it to the south eastward, of which the highest is Tartári, one mile east of Sopotó. The following, according to the French surveyors, are the altitudes of the several peaks in this great cluster of mountains, converted from metres into English feet:—O'lono, 7297 feet; Kalefóni, 6227; Makhéra, 6165; Astrá, 5889; Tartári, 4683.

VOL. ii. p. 263.

It is here stated that the river of Katzánes joins the *Cleitor* "at a distance from the ruins of *Cleitor*, exactly answering to the seven stades which Pausanias places between that city and the junction of the river Cleitor with the Aroanius." But this is

[1] Strabo, p. 341. All the distances relating to Scollis here given by Strabo will be found tolerably correct, if Pharæ be substituted for Tritæa. See Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 183.

manifestly incorrect, as the time-distance observed between the ruins of *Cleitor* and the river Katzánes, namely, 29 minutes, is equivalent not to 7 but to about 16 stades: the French map gives a direct interval of $1\frac{3}{4}$ G. M. My conclusion, however, is not less correct, that the river of Katzánes is the ancient *Aroanius*, there being no other confluent of the river *Cleitor* eastward of the ruins of *Cleitor* except the river of Karnési, which joined the *Cleitor*, not at any distance from the city, but under its walls, or at least in its suburbs.

VOL. ii. p. 267.

According to the French map, the distance from *Lycuria* (supposing it to have stood on the same site as the modern village of that name) to the source of the *Ladon* is little more than two miles by the road, instead of the 50 stades of Pausanias[1], while his 60 stades from thence to Cleitor[2] is rather below the truth. M. Boblaye[3] supposes *Lycuria* to have stood not at the modern village, but at the partition of the waters in the pass of Lykúria, which is two miles nearer to the lake of *Pheneus*; but even on that supposition *Lycuria* would have been twenty stades short of the distance from the source of the *Ladon* required by Pausanias. Unless, therefore, we suppose *Lycuria* to have stood within the basin of *Pheneus*, (and it is very unlikely that the limits of

[1] Arcad. 20, 1. [2] 21, 1.
[3] Rech. Géogr. sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 156.

the territories of Cleitor and Pheneus should have been so near the latter,) we can hardly avoid concluding that there is some error in Pausanias as to the number of stades between Lycuria and the fountain. There is no mention by M. Boblaye of any remains of antiquity at the position which he has assigned to *Lycuria*; the modern name, therefore, is the best evidence we now possess as to the site of that ancient place.

VOL. ii. p. 268.

The village here called Tzernotá is in the French map marked as one of the Kaly'via, or dependent hamlets of Fília, and Tzerotá is the name of a village a mile to the north of Fília on the same heights. Whether any change of name has taken place, or whether the village which I called Tzernotá was no more than a Kaly'via of that village, it is impossible after a lapse of so many years to determine. We may still allow it, therefore, for distinction sake, to give name as formerly to the valley in which occurs the junction of the *Ladon* and *Tragus*.

VOL. ii. p. 270.

It is here stated that the *Tragus* issues *at once* from the foot of Mount Kastaniá. Such was the fact reported to me at the Khan of Tara, which I could not verify on account of the marshy state of the plain. The French map, on the contrary, marks three sources in that valley flowing to the river of

Vytína, which joins the *Ladon* in the plain of Tzernotá. In whatever manner the waters may have emerged in the time of Pausanias, whose word ἄνεισιν will apply equally to one or to many sources, there can be no doubt that these are the sources of the river which, according to that author, commenced its course in the plain of Caphyæ and flowed through a χάσμα γῆς, or katavóthra, to an emissary at Rheunus, and from thence to Nasi, which latter was fifty stades from the Ladon; for this being very correctly the distance of the Khan of Tara from that river, *Rheunus* was probably a village at the sources, and *Nasi* another at the Khan of Tara, which modern name is probably a corruption of *Tragus*. The sources at *Rheunus* were considered the true sources of the *Tragus*, probably because they furnished a more permanent stream than the river of Vytína or that of Pungáki, which latter rises in a ravine of Mount Saetá and joins the *Tragus* a mile below the Khan of Tara, and is identified in the French map with the *Tragus*, but improperly, if the preceding observations are well founded. The fountain of Pungáki is on a higher level than the lake of *Caphyæ*, and cannot therefore be an emissary of a stream which commences its course in the *Caphyatic* plain.

VOL. ii. p. 272.

In Travels in Moréa, ii. p. 251, and its supplement [1], I have shown reasons for believing that the places

[1] See above, p. 223.

in the Thelpusæa mentioned by Pausanias were all, to the distance of more than 65 stades above Thelpusa, to the left of the Ladon. In the chapter of Pausanias from which that conclusion is derived, the author, after having described the road from Psophis to Thelpusa, informs us that Thelpusa was said to have been the daughter of Ladon, and upon that remark he takes occasion to describe the whole course of the Ladon from its sources at Lycuria to its junction with the Alpheius, omitting only those objects on or near the river to its left which he had already described on the road from Psophis to Thelpusa; namely, Tropæa, the river Arsen, the ruins of Caus, and the temple of Æsculapius Causius. On the descent from Lycuria occurred Leucasium, Mesoboa, the Nasi, Oryx, Halus, Thaliadæ, and the temple of Demeter Eleusinia, which last was within the boundary of the Thelpusæi.

Leucasium and *Mesoboa*, as before remarked [1], are probably the places of which I observed some vestiges *above* the plain of Tzernotá near Kabatomy'lo; in which case the valley of Podhogorá was probably that of *Oryx*; *Alus* or *Halus*, the next place on the descent of the river, may be placed at the Hellenic ruins which are marked in the French map near Glánitza; and *Thaliades* having, according to the preceding hypothesis, been on the right bank, may have been at Syriámu, a village on that bank opposite to Syriámu Kurtághi [2]. The temple of *Ceres Eleusinia*, which was within the *Thelpusæa*, was probably at the castle opposite to Spáthari. As to

[1] Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 272.

[2] Ibid. p. 105.

Nasi, through which the Ladon flowed, it cannot have been the same place as the Nasi of the river Tragus, as Pausanias expressly states that place to have been fifty stades distant from the Ladon[1]. But as Nasi, or the Islands, was a common name in places intersected by diverging or confluent branches of a river, it is not difficult to imagine that there may have been two Nasi, although at no greater distance from one another than six or seven miles. For the places below *Thelpusa*, see Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 101.

VOL. ii. p. 278.

Levídhi seems, from the remains here mentioned, to have been an ancient site, probably that of *Elymia*; for this situation is very near the natural boundary of the *Mantinice* and *Orchomenia*, and thus agrees with the circumstances attending the transactions of the year B.C. 370, in which Elymia is mentioned by Xenophon. See Tr. in Moréa, iii. p. 75.

VOL. ii. p. 281.

The French Surveyors have not afforded much illustration to the route from *Mantineia* to *Methydrium* described by Pausanias[2], and here referred to.

[1] Arcad. 23, 6 (8). Tr. in Moréa, iii. p. 120.

[2] Ἐς Μεθύδριον δὲ πόλιν μὲν οὐκέτι, κώμην δὲ ἐς τὸ Μεγαλοπολιτικὸν συντελοῦσαν, ἐς τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Μεθύδριον ἐκ Μαντινείας ὁδός. προελθόντι δὲ σταδίους τριάκοντα πεδίον τε ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀλκιμέδων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Ὀστρακίνη, ἐν δὲ

There can be no question that the plain of *Alcimedon* was that valley which stretches six miles to the S.SE. from near Levídhi, and which is separated from the *Mantinic* plain by a range of subordinate rocky heights running parallel to the great *Mænalian* range which bounds the plain of *Alcimedon* on the west, and of which the summit, now called Ai Iliá (St. Elias), is the highest point. The road from *Mantineia* to *Methydrium* passed between this summit and that next to it southward, named Róino. I have supposed the lower ridge, between Kapsá and Simiádhes, to have been the Mount Ostracine of Pausanias; and to this opinion I am still inclined to adhere, although at variance with that of the French geographers, who identify *Ostracine* with St. Elias; for although the thirty stades which Pausanias places between Mantineia and the plain of Alcimedon, by reaching to the middle of that valley, render the words ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου equally applicable to the *Mænalian* ridge as to that of Kapsá, there is a strong objection to the identifying of *Ostracine* with Ai Iliá in the fact mentioned by Pausanias, that the boundary between the Mantinenses and Megalopolitæ was forty stades *beyond* Ostracine. Anciently this was the boundary between Mantineia and Methydrium; but the latter, having been one of the cities which contributed to the foundation of Megalopolis, became a dependent κώμη of the Megalopolitæ. It is evident that a dis-

αὐτῷ σπήλαιον, ἔνθα ᾤκησεν Ἀλκιμέδων, ἀνὴρ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων . . . . . ἡ πλησίον πηγὴ Κίσσα ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρνιθος ὀνομάζεται. τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς στάδια ἀφέστηκε Πετροσάκα καλούμενον χωρίον. Μεγαλοπολιτῶν δὲ καὶ Μαντινέων ὅρος ἐστὶν ἡ Πετροσάκα. Pausan. Arcad. 12, 1 (2) seq.

tance of forty stades beyond the Mænalian ridge would reach almost to the site of Methydrium, where it is impossible to suppose the boundary between the two towns could ever have been. On the other hand, the crest of *Mænalus*, being about midway between the sites of Mantineia and Methydrium, and about forty stades beyond the hill of Kapsá, accords both with probability and the data of Pausanias as the place of separation between the two districts. The discovery of the cavern of *Alcimedon* and the fountain *Cissa* would determine this question; and the mountain *Ostracine* may perhaps be found to have derived its name from the fossil shells of its rocks. There can be little doubt, likewise, that the ravine of Karḍhára, by which a torrent from the *Mænalian* heights discharges itself into the plain of *Alcimedon*, and crosses that valley in its way to the Katavóthra, westward of *Mantineia*, marks the direction of the ancient route from Mantineia to Methydrium.

VOL. ii. p. 289.

The road by which Pausanias arrived at Megalopolis from Heræa, is the Roman road of the Peutinger Table, Melæneæ occurring upon it in both those authorities. Melæneæ was rightly placed by Gell at four or five miles eastward of *Heræa*, between the villages Kókora and Kakoréos, where he observed the remains of a Roman bath, which, according to the French Commission, has also been a church, and is still sometimes used as such, though it is generally inundated even in the dry season. This fact very curiously confirms the testimony of Pausanias as to

Melæneæ, who says, that the site where it formerly stood, was overflowed with water[1].

Gell, who proceeded from Karítena to Ai Ianni (*Hercæa*), or in the direction opposite to that of the narration of Pausanias, observed at one-third of the distance from Karítena to Ai Ianni, the Hellenic ruins mixed with later repairs, which are now, or at least at the time of my journey, were known by the name of the castle of Leódhoro. Gell supposed them to be remains of *Buphagium*, founding his opinion chiefly upon the existence at Leódhoro, of a fine source of water, one of the feeders of a stream which joins the *Alpheius* a mile from the ruins, and which fountain he supposed to be the source of the river Buphagus, mentioned by Pausanias. The distance of this place from the site of *Melæneæ* is, indeed, about forty stades, as Pausanias says of Buphagium. But it would be necessary to change ἀνωτέρω into ἀπωτέρω, to justify the conclusion of Gell; whereas, following the former reading, we find at the same distance above *Melæneæ*, near Papadhá, Hellenic ruins exactly answering to *Buphagium*, as well as the sources of a river which joins the Alpheius a mile to the westward of *Melæneæ*, and is doubtless the ancient Buphagus.

The castle of Leódhoro is perhaps the site of *Maratha*. This position is not indeed in a line

[1] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξ Ἠραίας ἄγουσαν ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν εἰσὶ Μελαινεαί· ταύτας ᾤκισε μὲν Μελαινεὺς ὁ Λυκάονος· ἔρημος δὲ ἦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὕδατι δὲ καταῤῥεῖται. Μελαινεῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστιν ἀνωτέρω σταδίοις Βουφάγιον, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔχει πηγὰς ὁ Βουφάγος κατιὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν. τοῦ Βουφάγου δὲ περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὅροι πρὸς Μεγαλοπολίτας Ἠραιεῦσίν εἰσιν. Pausan. Arcad. 26, 5.

between *Buphagium* (Papadhá) and *Gortys* (Atzíkolo), as Pausanias seems to require in stating that it was between the sources of the Buphagus and Gortys[1], but nothing is more likely than that the ancient communication between *Buphagium* and *Gortys*, instead of crossing the mountain of Zátuna, or that of Sarakíniko, should have made a small detour through the gorges of the *Alpheius*, below Karítena, ascending the *Gortynius* from near its point of junction with the Alpheius. If *Maratha* was at the castle of Leódhoro, we may infer that the Roman road from Heræa to Megalopolis crossed to the left bank of the Alpheius, between Melæneæ and Maratha, since, had it followed the right bank to Karítena, *Maratha* would have been on that road, and would not have been described by Pausanias as between Buphagium and Gortys. That there was such a crossing of the river in the Roman road is rendered likely by the structure of the country and the greater facility of communication along the left bank.

Vol. ii. p. 294—7.

The labours of the French Surveyors have not suggested any addition or correction to my former remarks on the second and third of the routes radiating from

[1] Ἰόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν πηγῶν πρῶτα μέν σε ἐκδέξεται Μάραθα χωρίον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Γόρτυς, κώμη τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἔτι ἀρχαιοτέρα πόλις. Arcad. 28, 1. As Pausanias conducts his reader to Megalopolis from Heræa, and afterwards describes all the other roads which led from Megalopolis as a centre, that to Heræa has of course been described by him in a direction opposite to that of all the others.

Megalopolis, except that I subscribe to their opinion as to the river *Carnion*, which I had identified with the river rising on Mount Elenítza, but which I now believe with the French Surveyors to be the Xeriló Potamó, which is the longer and more easterly branch of the same tributary of the *Alpheius*.

The question is decided by the distance of the district called Cromitis from the place where the Alpheius received the Gatheates, a river of which the sources were at Gatheæ, in Cromitis. This district, according to Pausanias, was forty stades above the junction. Now the sources of the western branch of the Xeriló at Khirádhes, in Mount Elenítza, which we may suppose to have been towards the farther extremity of the district, are not more than sixty stades distant from that point; whereas those of the eastern branch of the Xeriló are at more than double that distance. The latter, therefore, must be the river *Carnion*, which arose in the territory of the Laconian city Ægys; for thus we must interpret the word Ægytis in Pausanias [1], without any reference to the ancient extent of the Arcadian tribe, the Ægytæ, to whom the Beleminatis and Cromitis, as well as the Ægytis proper, had belonged. Belemina and Ægys were conquered by Sparta at an early time, while the Cromitis, which bordered upon Messenia, as well as Laconia, remained Arcadian. M. Boblaye has, with great probability, identified Kyrádhes with *Gatheæ;* but I cannot equally agree with him as to *Cromi*, which he places at Neokhório [2]. This place I conceive to have been not on the second route from Megalopolis, or that

[1] Arcad. 34, 3 (5).

[2] Rech. Géog. sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 169.

leading to Messene, but on the third, which led to Carnasium: and I have already shown reason for believing that the site of *Cromi* is indicated by some remains at Samará, a little westward of Londári. This position was towards the centre of the Cromitis, as placed by Pausanias; it was also not far from the road from Megalopolis to Messene, as Cromi appears from the same authority to have been; and about forty stades, as Pausanias also indicates, from that part of the Makryplághi, where we may suppose the *Hermæa* marking the boundaries of Messenia and the Megalopolitis to have stood: for the ancient road evidently crossed the Makryplághi, by the modern Kokhla Dervéni, entering the pass half an hour beyond the Pashá Vrysi, which, as well in its nature [1] as in its position, midway between Samará and the boundary, accords with the Nymphas of Pausanias.

Kamára, by its name, often indicative in Greece of an ancient site, by the ruins adjacent to it, and by its position near the sources of the Xeriló or *Carnion*, has every appearance of having been the position of the city *Ægys*, the proximity of which to Laconia accords with its early subjugation by the Lacedæmonians [2].

VOL. ii. p. 295.

The French Surveyors seem to have considered the third route from Megalopolis, or that leading

[1] Καταῤῥεῖται δὲ ὕδατι καὶ δένδρων ἀνάπλεώς ἐστιν ἡ Νυμφάς. Pausan. Arcad. 34, 3 (6).

[2] Pausan. Lacon. 2, 5.

to Carnasium, to have proceeded in a west by south direction, towards Dehli Hassan, as they have given the name of *Mallus* to a river which joins the *Alpheius* between Kassímí and Khorémi; but this direction from Megalopolis coincides too nearly with that from Megalopolis to Lycosura, and Phigaleia or the seventh route, to have been the third. The *Mallus*, therefore, I believe to have been the river of Neokhóri, which, a little westward of Dedébey, receives a small stream answering to the ancient Syrus. In this case, *Phædria*, to which the traveller proceeded by following the right bank of the *Mallus*, and at the end of thirty stades crossing that river, and ascending a hill, appears to have stood on the height above Neokhóri. About fifteen stades beyond this position, occurs the crest of the ridge above Krano, a very natural situation for a boundary. Here therefore stood the Hermæum named Despœna, and small statues of that goddess, with others of Ceres, Hermes, and Hercules. Carnasium, as I before observed, is represented by the modern Krano [1], and is not to be confounded with the Carnasium, or sacred grove of Apollo Carneius, on the site of the ancient Œchalia, near Andania [2].

VOL. ii. p. 298.

On the fourth of the Megalopolitan routes, or that to Sparta, we may remark that, assuming Rap-

[1] Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 297.

[2] Pausan. Messen. 2, 2; 33, 5, 4. Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 391, 481.

somáti to be the ancient Pegæ, and, consequently, the river flowing from thence to be the true Alpheius, that which joins it near Khamuzá, named Kutufarína, must be the *Theius;* and this is confirmed by the subsequent direction of the road to Sparta, which, according to Pausanias, followed the left bank of the Theius; for the Kutufarína flows from the south or the direction of Sparta, whereas the river of Rapsomáti is from the east. The thirty stades measured by Pausanias on this route from Megalopolis to the Alpheius, is found to be correct; and the direction of the road, compared with the course of the streams, shows that the crossing was just below the junction. Forty stades beyond it was Phalæsiæ, and twenty stades farther the Hermæum, which marked the boundary of the Megalopolitis and Belminatis. *Phalæsiæ*, therefore, was a little to the eastward of Bura, where Gell remarked some Hellenic remains among the ruins of the Buréika Kaly'via[1]. This place is about four miles short of Khelmós, the site of *Belemina;* midway is the division of the waters flowing southward to the *Eurotas*, and northward to the *Alpheius*, a situation exactly suitable to a boundary, and agreeing with the distance from Phalæsiæ of the boundary abovementioned, as given by Pausanias. I have to correct, therefore, my former opinion as to *Phalæsiæ* having been near Gardhíki.

[1] Itin. of Moréa, p. 213.

VOL. ii. p. 300.

The fifth route of Pausanias from Megalopolis led through the middle of that portion of Arcadia which was surrounded by the rivers Gortynius, Alpheius, and Helisson. Although the French map has given us more accurate details of this district, which is for the most part mountainous, than we before possessed, it has not fixed one of the ancient sites mentioned by Pausanias either upon the main line from Megalopolis to Methydrium, or upon the two routes which branched from Tricoloni, on the right to the tomb of Callisto, and on the left to Hypsus. One important feature, however, is derived from the French map, namely, the remarkable westerly reach of the *Helisson* between Piána and Zibovísi, which places that angle of the river not far east of a direct line drawn from *Megalopolis* to *Methydrium*, and thus agrees with the words of Pausanias, which seem to place Anemosa on or near the Helisson. We find, moreover, that the true distances between the sites of *Megalopolis*, *Tricoloni*, *Anemosa*, and *Methydrium* agree with the numbers in Pausanias, placing *Anemosa* on the *Helisson* near Zibovísi, and *Tricoloni*, as before proposed, on the edge of the plain of Megalopolis at 3·3 G.M. direct from that city, or about the modern Karatúla, where it appears that the direct route to *Methydrium* began to cross the heights, and from whence diverged a road to the left, which passed near some other ancient places in the plain or on its edge, and then ascended to *Hypsus*. Placing *Tricoloni* at Karatúla,

we shall find that seven geographical miles, which is the direct distance from thence across the mountains to Żibovísi, will correspond tolerably with the 100 stades of Pausanias to *Anemosa*, and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ G. M. direct from thence to *Methydrium* to his 37 stades across Mount *Phalanthus*.

In Travels in the Moréa, ii. p. 301, I remarked that "as there were 100 stades from Tricoloni to Anemosa, and 55 from Cruni to Anemosa, it would follow that the distance from Tricoloni to Cruni, not specified by Pausanias, was 45 stades. This was on the supposition that Cruni was on the direct route from Tricoloni to Methydrium; but considering the parenthesis of Pausanias (αὕτη γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Τρικολώνων ἔτι λείπεται) which follows his remark that Anemosa was on the εὐθεῖα, or direct road from Megalopolis to Methydrium, I now infer that Cruni and the tomb of Callisto were not on the direct road, but to the right of it; consequently that the distance from Tricoloni to Cruni was more than 45 stades, and cannot be exactly known until either Cruni or the hill and tomb of Callisto is identified; if the latter was to the right of the direct road from Tricoloni to Methydrium, at a distance of 25 stades from *Anemosa*, it would seem to have been not far from the modern Piána. On the road branching to the left from *Tricoloni*, there occurs in the French map, at a distance from Karatúla answering to the 15 stades which Pausanias places between Tricoloni and Zœtia, the ruin of a building, which may have been one of the temples seen by Pausanias among the ruins of Zœtia. By careful examination perhaps some similar vestiges may be found of *Paroria*,

10 stades from Zœtia[1], or of Thyræum, 15 stades beyond Paroria[2], and which stood probably at the foot of the mountain, on a continuation of the line from Tricoloni to Zœtia; for that Thyræum was at the foot of the mountain is shown by the remark of Pausanias which immediately follows his mention of the position of Thyræum relatively to Paroria, namely, that between the ruins of Thyræum and those of Hypsus, which was situated in the mountain of the same name rising above the plain, *all* the country was mountainous and full of wild animals[3], whence also we may infer that the distance was not inconsiderable. There is great probability, therefore, that Mount *Hypsus* was the mountain of Stemnítza, that Stemnítza itself stands on the site of the town *Hypsus*, that *Thyræum* occupied the site of Palamári, and *Paroria* that of Paleomíri.

As to Phalanthus, an ancient site on a mountain of the same name, and as to the other places named by Pausanias between Anemosa and Methydrium, no light has been thrown by the French survey; but as the total distance from Anemosa to Methydrium was no more than 37 stades, there can be no doubt as to the situation of Mount Phalanthus. As Pausanias does not positively state that Schœnus was on the direct road, it is not unlikely that the plain of Palus, Schœnus, and the *curriculum Atalantes* may have been, not at the foot of Mount Phalanthus towards Methydrium, but on the eastern or the western side of that mountain.

[1] ἀπέχουσαν Ζοιτίας. Pausan. Arcad. 35, 6.
[2] ἀπωτέρω Παρωρίας. (7.)
[3] ὀρεινὴ πᾶσά ἐστι καὶ θηριώδης.

VOL. ii. p. 302.

The sixth route from Megalopolis, or that which led along the Helisson to Mænalus, entered near the modern village of Shálesi, the ravines through which that river makes its way from the Mænalian valleys to the plain of Megalopolis. There can be little doubt that the entrance of these passes is the place anciently called the Gates of Helos[1], and that the temple of Ceres, mentioned by Pausanias[2], stood on a peaked height, which rises from the left bank of the river, about a mile N. E. of Shálesi. But this position, instead of having been 5 stades from Megalopolis, the distance which Pausanias assigns as that of the temple of Ceres, was not less than 25 stades. This correction, therefore, as I have already remarked, will be required before we can proceed in applying his description to the actual topography. Another observation necessary to be made is, that Paliscius and Perætheæ, the only two places mentioned by Pausanias between the Gates of Helos and the commencement of the Mænalian plain, were not in the direct road from Megalopolis to Mænalus. This appears evident from the circumstance, that the only tributary of the Helisson in that interval is the torrent which flows from Valtétzi and Rakhamy'tes, and which must therefore be the Elaphus of Pausanias. But the confluence of this river with the Helisson was not more than 2 G. miles

[1] αἱ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἕλος ὀνομαζόμεναι πύλαι. Pausan. Arcad. 36, 3 (5).

[2] Δήμητρος καλουμένης ἐν Ἕλει ναός τε καὶ ἄλσος, 4 (6).

from the temple of Ceres, whereas Paliscius was 30 stades from thence, and was situated on the Elaphus; consequently, it was 10 stades to the right of the confluence as well as to the right of the direct road to Mænalus. We find, moreover, that the road from Paliscius to Peræthea followed the left bank of the Elaphus 20 stades farther from the confluence. It seems evident, therefore, that *Paliscius* was near Rakhamy'tes, and *Peræthea* near Valtétzi. If instead of ascending the valley of the Elaphus to Paliscius and Peræthea, the traveller crossed the Elaphus and proceeded by the direct road along the Helisson to Mænalus, he arrived (at the end of 15 stades, according to Pausanias) in the Mænalian plain. But the distance from the junction of the Elaphus along the gorges of the Helisson into the valleys which extend to the foot of Mount *Mænalus*, is little, if at all, less than five G. miles. We must again, therefore, be allowed to suspect an error in the number of stades, according to the text of Pausanias. If he should be supposed to have meant that the torrent Elaphus was to be crossed at Peræthea, and consequently that the latter part of the route to Mænalus described by him was from Peræthea, and not a part of the direct road from Megalopolis, there would be some strong objections to this supposition. 1. The road described would then have had to cross the highest part of Mount Rezeníko, and on account of its difficulties would have been not many stades shorter than that leading from the junction of the Elaphus and Helisson along the latter river. 2. Pausanias, in the outset of his description of the road to Mænalus, expressly says that it led along

the river Helisson, which is, in fact, the natural line of communication, and still continues to be employed as such. We may add, that there can be no ambiguity as to the Mænalian plain of Pausanias, nor any doubt that it is the plain or valleys which I have described as lying at the foot of Mount *Mænalus* on the western side, and which were watered by the *Helisson* and some small tributaries [1].

The places described by Pausanias in these situations are, Dipæa, on the right bank of the Helisson [2]; Lycoa, situated under an extremity of Mount Mænalus [3]; Sumatia, on the southern side of the mountain [4]; the Triodi, or three ways in the mountain [5]; and the remains of the city Mænalus, once the most famous in Arcadia [6]. Sumatia, the Triodi, and the city Mænalus, appear from Pausanias to have been at no great distance apart [7]. If Triodi, therefore, be the pass behind Tripolitzá, and *Sumatia* was to the southward of it, as I have supposed [8], *Mænalus* stood probably on Mount Apanokhrépa, and may still possibly be recognised, since in the time of Pausanias there remained a stadium, a hippodrome, and ruins of a temple of Minerva.

[1] Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 116. ii. p. 52.

[2] Pausan. Lacon. 11, 6 (7). Arcad. 30, 1. Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 52.

[3] τοῦ ὄρους ὑπὸ τοῖς καταλήγουσι. Arcad. 36, 5 (7).

[4] ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μεσημβρίαν τοῦ ὄρους (8).

[5] ἐν τῷ ὄρει.

[6] τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλεων ὀνομαστοτάτην τὸ ἀρχαῖον Μαίναλον. Arcad. 3, 1 (4).

[7] Arcad. 36, 5. Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 304.

[8] Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 51, 306.

VOL. ii. p. 306 seq.

The seventh route, or that leading from Megalopolis to Phigaleia, crossed the Alpheius midway between the city and Despœna, a sanctuary held in particular veneration by the Arcadians, and which was distant 40 stades from Megalopolis. The ruins of Lycosura were immediately above it. There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the position of those ancient places. There remains very little of them above ground; but considering that five temples, with stoæ, altars, and works of statuary, were still extant towards the end of the second century [1], it is highly probable, that something valuable might still be found below the surface. To the left of the temple of Despœna [2], that is to say, to the north, as being to the left of the eastern fronting of the temple, was Mount Lycæus, otherwise called Olympus or the Sacred Summit, which is thus identified with Mount Dhiofórti. Here were the sacred groves of Jupiter Lycæus and of Apollo Parrhasius, and a temple of Pan, adjacent to which was a hippodrome and stadium which had formerly served for the Lycæan games [3]. The remains of these proofs of the iden-

[1] Pausan. Arcad. 37, 1 seq.

[2] ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δεσποίνης. 38, 2.

[3] "Εστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανός τε ἱερὸν, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος δένδρων καὶ ἱππόδρομός τε, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στάδιον· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον τῶν Λυκαίων ἦγον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνταῦθα. . . . . Τὸ δὲ ὄρος παρέχεται τὸ Λύκαιον καὶ ἄλλα ἐς θαῦμα, καὶ μάλιστα τόδε·

tity of Dhiofórti with Mount *Lycæus* were observed by Gell[1]; and the architectural branch of the French expedition has given a plan of the site and of the Hellenic remains which exist there.

At the southern extremity of a valley inclosed between Dhiofórti and another summit of the same range, and near a fountain which is the source of one of the streams flowing to the *Alpheius*, the French officers remarked the foundations of several Hellenic constructions; and they confirm the remark of Gell, that the summit of Dhiofórti appears to have been levelled by art: Gell states it to be about 50 yards in diameter. Here was the altar of Jupiter Lycæus, from whence the greater part of Peloponnesus was to be seen. As the mention of it by Pausanias follows immediately the description of the sacred inclosure of Jupiter Lycæus, it is probable that the latter was adjacent to the summit. The situation of the Hippodrome is clearly indicated by the only level of sufficient dimensions, and which stretches about 300 yards northward from the remains of the ancient buildings near the fountain. On the eastern side of the Hippodrome are remains of a wall which supported that side; and adjacent to the north-eastern angle are foundations, in Hellenic masonry of the best times, of a building which

τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λυκαίου Διὸς, ἔσοδος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώποις. . . . . Ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῇ ἀνωτάτω τοῦ ὄρους γῆς χῶμα, Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμὸς, καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος τὰ πολλά ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σύνοπτος. . . . . Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ ὄρους Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Παῤῥασίου· τίθενται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πύθιον ὄνομα. Paus. Arcad. 38, 4, (5) seq.

[1] Itin. of the Moréa, p. 106.

was divided into small apartments. This building appears to have been at the rectilinear end of the Stadium, which seems to have been contiguous to the Hippodrome, on the east, having a parallel axis.

Among the remains near the fountain, fragments of fluted Doric columns, 2ft. 2in. in diameter, were found. Some remains, apparently those of another temple, were observed at a distance of five minutes to the west of the Hippodrome in the way to *Bassæ*, midway between the summit of Dhiofórti and the Hippodrome; and on the eastern side of the summit Gell found the ruins of a Doric temple of white marble with columns 3 feet in diameter and having 21 flutings. This ruin seems not to have been observed by the French. It corresponds by its situation with the temple of Apollo Parrhasius, which, according to Pausanias, stood to the eastward of the mountain. As to the remainder of the seventh route, one cannot but suspect some omission in the text of Pausanias, as it bestows upon a direct distance of 9 G. M. no other remark, than that the river Plataniston was crossed thirty stades from Phigaleia [1]. Following this indication, *Plataniston* was the river on the western side of Tragói, which rises not far from that village, and is shaded with many large *plane-trees* [2], thus in some degree favouring the identity.

[1] Pausan. Arcad. 39, 1.
[2] Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 489.

VOL. ii. p. 316 seq.

On the eighth road from Megalopolis, or that which led to Pallantium and Tegea, were, Ladoceia, a suburb of the city, noted for two battles[1]; Hæmoniæ, once a city; Aphrodisium and Athenæum, villages attached probably to temples of Venus and Minerva; and then Asea, an ancient Arcadian city, which is fixed beyond a doubt at Paleókastro, by the Hellenic walls seen on the height which rises above the copious source of water called Frangóvrysi. *Asea* seems to be nearly in the same state as when Pausanias visited it, and the two reputed sources of the Alpheius and Eurotas are found as he describes them; the latter in the road, the former at some little distance from it (to the right), and which lower in the plain unites with the former[2]. Aphrodisium having apparently been near Athenæum, which was 20 stades short of Asea, it is probable that Hæmoniæ was on the western, and Aphrodisium on the eastern side of the ridge of Tzimbarú, which separates the plain of *Asea* from that of *Megalopolis;* and consequently that *Oresthasium* or *Orestium* was upon or immediately adjacent to some part of that ridge[3],

[1] Thucyd. 4, 134. Polyb. 2, 51. 55.

[2] Τοῦ Ἀθηναίου δὲ μάλιστα εἴκοσι ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἐρείπια Ἀσέας ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ λόφος, ἀκρόπολις τότε οὖσα, τείχους σημεῖα ἔχει καὶ ἐς τόδε· σταδίους δὲ ὅσον πέντε ἀπὸ Ἀσέας τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοῦ δὲ Εὐρώτα παρ' αὐτήν ἐστι πηγὴ τὴν ὁδόν· . . . . . τοῦ δὲ Εὐρώτα τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνακεράννυται πρὸς τὸν Ἀλφειόν. Paus. Arcad. 44, 2 (3).

[3] That Orestium was not very far from Megalopolis, appears from the circumstance that Ladoceia, which, after the building of Megalopolis, was a προάστειον of that city, is described by Thucydides as in the Orestis.

perhaps at the modern village Marmara or Marmária, a name often attached in Greece to places where ancient wrought or sculptured stones have been found.

The summit of Mount Tzimbarú is very possibly the position of the Castle Athenæum, described by Plutarch as a position in advance of the Laconic frontier (ἐμβολὴ τῆς Λακωνικῆς) and near Belemina. Athenæum was fortified by Cleomenes in the year B.C. 224, taken by Antigonus, retaken by Lycurgus, and finally abandoned by the Lacedæmonians, when Philip, son of Demetrius, entered the Peloponnesus in the year B.C. 219[1]. It was evidently not the same place as the Athenæum between Megalopolis and Asea.

VOL. ii. p. 322.

The conjecture here made as to the position of *Mallæa* and *Leuctrum* would place them in Ægytis Proper, or the mountainous tract towards the sources of the Xeriló Potamó or *Carnion;* but it seems more likely that Mallæa was on the river Mallus, and consequently not far from the third Megalopolitan route of Pausanias, which led to Carnasium, the modern Krano; and this accords with Thucydides and Xenophon, the former of whom describes Leuctrum as on the confines of Laconia towards Mount Lycæus[2]; the latter, as a fortress above the Maleatis[3], which guarded one of the two easiest entrances from Arcadia into the Laconic territory, Ium of Sciritis being the other[4]. It must be

[1] Plutarch. Cleomen. 4. Polyb. 2, 46. 54. 4, 37. 60. 81.
[2] Thucyd. 5, 54. [3] ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος.
[4] Xenoph. Hellen. 6, 5. § 24.

remembered, that when these two Attic historians wrote, all Messenia was a part of the Lacedæmonian territory, into which, so constituted, it is easy to conceive that the entrances by the valleys of the Carnion and Theius, on either side of the northern extremity of the Taygetic ridge, may have presented greater difficulties than the more circuitous routes of the Sciritis and Maleatis.

VOL. ii. p. 327.

The remark here made, that the natural discharge of the waters from the valley of *Pallantium* and the heights near Tripolitzá are into the river of Dhulianá or *Gareates*, appears from the French map of the Moréa not to be correct. Those of *Pallantium* are there seen to descend into the Taki or chasm of the *Alpheius* at the foot of Mount *Boreius*; those of the *Mænalian* ridges into the chasm of the *Ophis* at the foot of Mount *Mænalus*. Visiting these plains in the winter and spring, I was unable to trace the course of the streams, on account of the inundations which often cover a great part of the plains. The French Surveyors had opportunities of tracing the water-courses in summer, and even of entering some of the katavóthra[1]. It appears that, besides the principal chasms of the *Mantinico-Tegeatic* plain which I have described, namely, those of the *Alpheius* and *Ophis*, and that of the *Gareates* near Persová, there is a fourth, which receives a small stream flowing directly south from Sanga through the valley, which Xenophon has described as ὁ ὄπισθεν κόλπος

[1] Exp. Scient. de la Morée: Sciences Physiques, ii. p. 321.

τῆς Μαντινικῆς[1]. This katavóthra is immediately below the village of Tzipianá: in the mouth of the cavern the rivulet turns a mill. There is a small katavóthra also in the vale of Luka which receives a rivulet flowing north; and a sixth in the marsh to the N. W. of *Mantineia*, which receives the waters of Mount *Alesius*, as well as those of a brook from *Mantineia* itself, and of another from the vale of *Alcimedon*. In such an even level as this plain, nothing but a well-regulated system of drainage and embankment can prevent the several water-courses from winding over the plain and inundating it, instead of preserving their direction towards the several outlets which nature has provided for their discharge, and which she has proportioned to the several streams, though human industry is constantly required to keep the water-courses in order. The obstruction of the subterraneous channels themselves by natural accidents is another cause of inundation, and one which is not so easily remedied by art; but its occurrence is extremely rare, nor is there any historical record of there having happened in the *Mantinico-Tegeatic* plain any deluge caused by the obstruction of the Zerethra; such as anciently, and again recently, has deprived the people of *Pheneus* of the use of their plain for many successive years. That the maintenance of a proper drainage was sometimes the consequence of a friendly compact between the states of Mantineia and Tegea, we may presume from the opposite fact, that the course of the waters was sometimes a cause of war between

[1] Hellen. 6, 5, § 17. See below, in the Supplement to iii. p. 56.

them[1]. But during the last fifteen centuries nothing has been done with that view, unless for purposes of partial cultivation, or when the pressure of aggravated inconvenience in some particular point may have suggested the formation of an artificial water-course or embankment. Drainage, for purposes of agriculture, has chiefly been applied to the lower parts of the plain around the katavóthra, with a view to render the inundations subservient to the cultivation of such productions as require no more than the summer months to advance them from germination to maturity.

VOL. ii. p. 339.

Mr. Mure justly observes, that in the elevation of the pyramid in the woodcut of this page the stones are represented as too small[2]: the given dimensions of two of them prove it, and ought to have guided the wood-engraver, as there is a scale to the whole. Mr. Mure's remark is equally just as to the too great regularity of the stones in the representation of the same monument given in the Supplement to Stuart's Athens, p. 23, by Mr. Donaldson (not Mr. Cockerell); and I agree with him in supposing the monument to be sepulchral, and not a φρυκτώριον or watch-tower, as Mr. Donaldson supposed. In the Expédition Scientifique (Architecture, &c. ii. plate 55) there is a plan of the monument, which agrees perfectly with mine, except that I saw appearances, perhaps no longer existing, of two chambers in the interior. The same *plate* of the Expédition Scientifique contains

[1] Thucyd. 5, 65.

[2] Journal of a Tour in Greece, ii. p. 197.

a plan of the "foundations about the pyramid," and a correct elevation of that monument.

VOL. ii. p. 344.

In Mount Creium were the rocks Pallantides, so called, because Eumedes, priest of Minerva, fled thither with the Palladium, when threatened with death at Argos, because he was suspected of being desirous of delivering it to the Heracleidæ [1]. He was the same probably as the Eumedes, son of Hippocoon, whose monument was in the dromus of Sparta [2].

VOL. ii. p. 357.

The corrupted form τὸ Ἀνάπλιον or τὰ Ἀνάπλια, has given way so entirely to the ancient name Nauplia, that some travellers have conceived it a mistake to suppose that the corruption ever existed, unless among the Turks: but Pachymer [3] shows that the place was so called by the Greeks in the beginning of the fourteenth century; and the same form constantly occurs in the Metrical Chronicle on the wars of the Franks in the Morèa in the thirteenth century.

VOL. ii. p. 358.

I have here supposed, that Palamídhi (Παλαμήδιον) the modern name of the upper fortress of Nauplia, and of the mountain on which it stands, has been preserved from ancient times, although no

[1] Callim., Lavac. Pall. v. 37. Schol. ibid.
[2] Pausan. Lacon. 14, 6. [3] 1, 31.

author mentions it. On this Mr. Mure remarks, that "unless the name can be traced back with certainty to an epoch prior to the Venetian occupation, it may, perhaps, with better reason be conjectured, that some classic-minded commander, or state-commissary of the republic, had baptized their new citadel with the name of the local hero, so celebrated in his own time for his talents as a military engineer[1]." To me, however, it appears, that the *onus probandi* lies the other way. Here is a Greek name applied to a Peloponnesian hill, upon which stands a fortress built by Venetians. Is it very likely that an officer of a nation, than which none have ever shown more classical ignorance, or less respect for antiquity, or have done so much for the abolition of ancient names and recollections,—is it likely that it should have been reserved for an officer of that nation in the seventeenth century to give a Greek name to a Greek mountain? for if we are to suppose the name to have passed from the fortress to the mountain, we must infer that this remarkable feature of the *Argolis* had previously no Greek name at all, or at least one which has been entirely superseded by another Greek name given to it by foreigners, who occupied the place no more than twenty-five years. If the fact was really as Mr. Mure believes, I should rather suggest that the officer had been a great chess-player, and for this reason had chosen the name; for Palamedes was renowned not as an architect, but as a military tactician, as the inventor of chess, as having added

[1] Journal of a Tour in Greece, ii. p. 188.

four letters to the Greek alphabet, and as having exposed some of the frauds of Ulysses. But, in fact, we are told in history, that when count Kœnigsmarck, in August, 1686, attacked Nauplia, his first proceeding was to drive the Turks from Mount Palamídhi, which they were fortifying, after which he occupied it with 9500 infantry and 9000 (900?) cavalry; so that there was evidently at that time a Mount Palamídhi, and no fortress[1]. At no great distance from Nauplia we find τὸ Ἱερὸν, the temple of the Epidaurian Æsculapius, giving name to a *place*, and near it the village Koróni, a name which, like Παλαμήδιον at Nauplia, is connected with the local mythology, although unnoticed as that of a place in any extant author.

VOL. ii. p. 374.

It is here stated (speaking of the green basalt, of which the semi-columns in front of the door-posts of the treasury of Atreus are formed) that "the same stone was employed for the sculpture over the gate of the lions:" this is an error, as Mr. Mure has well observed, and who adds, that the stone is of the same yellow calcareous kind of which the neighbouring walls are composed[2]. How those words found their way into my text I am at a loss to account for, as I find no traces of them in my manuscript. Perhaps I trusted to Dodwell and Gell, who made the same mistake.

[1] See Hammer, Hist. de l'Emp. Ottoman, xii. p. 224, and the authorities cited by him.

[2] Journal of a Tour in Greece, ii. p. 324.

VOL. ii. p. 384.

The remains of *four* treasuries at Mycenæ, as here described, have not been remarked by travellers in general, but the fact of their existence is confirmed by the French Expédition Scientifique de Morée[1]. Two of these treasuries are on the eastern, and two on the western side of the ridge, which branches in a southern direction from the Acropolis between the two torrents, which embrace the site of lower Mycenæ. The natural inference is, that the town covered both sides of the ridge, and that the excavation along its crest was the main street of the town. And this conjecture is supported by the remains of a bridge across the eastern torrent, and of a causeway which the French have observed beyond the bridge; for these fall exactly in a continuation of the line of the excavation along the ridge. The French Surveyors found also on the south-western height towards Kharváti foundations, which have much the appearance of having formed the western angle of the town-walls, which would thus have inclosed within their circumference the treasuries marked third and fourth in my *Plan*, leaving little doubt that the entire height between the two torrents was occupied by the city. The circumference of Mycenæ would not, on this supposition, have been more than three miles, which is as little as we can well allow for the capital of the Atreidæ, even admitting that under their rule the cultivators of the soil lived in unfortified villages, which was not in

[1] Architecture, &c. ii. pl. 63.

general the condition of Greece in those times, as numerous small extant fortresses demonstrate.

Of late years an opinion has prevailed that the circular subterraneous edifices at *Mycenæ* were sepulchres, and the greatest of them, or that which alone is in a state of considerable preservation, has been often named the Tomb of Agamemnon. Mr. Mure has "endeavoured to establish that all such buildings were the family-vaults of the ancient heroes by whom they were constructed[1]." In the great edifice at Mycenæ he supposes "the inner apartment to have been the burial-place, and the outer vault the heroum or sanctuary of the deceased[2]." But these constructions are of a kind quite distinct from heroa or sepulchres. A heroum was a sanctuary containing a sculptured or inscribed stele or a statue, and was often a small temple. Sepulchres in remote ages were, for the most part, either chambers cut in the rock, or tumuli, hundreds of which have been opened, and have shown that they had nothing in common with the extant ruined buildings at Mycenæ, Erchomenus, and Pharis.

There is, moreover, complete evidence, that these structures were called Θησαυροὶ[3], and belong to ages prior to the origin of that architecture of which the Doric temple in Europe, and the Ionic in Asia, were the crowning inventions. As this later architecture advanced, temples served for treasuries; or when buildings were erected solely for treasuries, they had

[1] Reinesche Museum, vi. p. 240, ann. 1839. Journal of a Tour in Greece, i. 225.

[2] Ibid. ii. 167.

[3] See Walpole's collection of Memoirs on Turkey, i. p. 561.

the ordinary forms of that later style of architecture, as we learn from the description which Pausanias has given of the treasuries at Olympia and Delphi[1]. Nevertheless, subterraneous buildings, similar in construction to the treasuries of the heroic ages, continued to serve for containing oil, or corn, or water; and, when attached to private houses, might often be employed for depositing property of any kind. These are very numerous in Greece, but in no instance are they entered at the side. The largest I know of is in the acropolis of Pharsalus.

But the strongest reason for designating the constructions at Mycenæ as treasuries is the evidence of Pausanias, unless it be denied that he intended those buildings by the words ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα, which can hardly be alleged, as the ruins agree too well with his words, to render such a supposition reasonable. Sixteen hundred years ago, therefore, those buildings were believed to be the treasuries of Atreus and his sons. Nothing had then occurred to interfere with the course of the mythology or history of Greece, as transmitted to the Greeks by their ancestors; and although, on many occasions, the reports received by Pausanias from the ἐξηγηταὶ may have been inventions of a date comparatively recent, no such suspicion can well attach to the principal traditions of Mycenæ, which accord with all that has reached us concerning that city in poetry or prose. The extant edifice was the largest of the four treasuries, and bears proofs of having been a costly building, highly decorated at the

[1] Eliac. post. 19, 1 seq. Phocic. 11, 1 seq.

entrance, and lined within with metallic plates. To Atreus himself, therefore, the most opulent and powerful of the kings of the πολύχρυσος Μυκήνη [1], and not to either of his sons, the greatest of the extant treasuries may, with a high degree of probability, be attributed. Agamemnon dissipated the wealth of Atreus in the expedition to Asia, passed the greater part of his reign abroad, and returned home poor and powerless, leaving Mycenæ to be, after his time, no more than a secondary town of Argolis. Nor is it likely, under these circumstances, that the sepulchre of Agamemnon was a monument of any great magnificence. Pausanias, who saw it, does not mention it as such, but gives us clearly to understand, that the treasuries and the gates of the citadel were the most remarkable antiquities at Mycenæ.

Vol. ii. p. 391.

The site of the Heræum, which had eluded the researches of all former travellers, was discovered by Colonel Gordon, of Cairness, in the year 1831. Mr. Finlay, in communicating to me this discovery, remarked: "It is a few hundred yards nearer the hills than where you passed, but two ravines isolate the site, and prevent it from being reached by riding close along the slope of the hills." In a subsequent communication, dated 21st Nov., 1831, Mr. Finlay stated as follows:—"While at Nauplia I visited the

[1] Il. II. 180. Sophocl. Elect. 8.

Heræum, and spent the whole day there; and I had the good fortune to discover a curious subterraneous passage, which escaped the attention even of Professor Thiersch, of Munich, who had visited the site several times. A projection of Mount *Eubœa* lengthens the road from Mycenæ to these ruins, and obliges a horseman to keep so far down in the plain, that a small knoll hides the place from those who pass near it, while it remains visible at a distance, and can be seen both from Argos and Nauplia[1]. The eminence on which the ruins are situated, is an irregular triangular platform, having a precipitous apex towards Mount Eubœa, and inaccessible though not very elevated. The base of the triangle is towards Argos, and is supported by a terrace in masonry, above which, at the base of the peak, is an upper terrace and a quadrangular platform. The walls of the lower terrace are generally of an inferior kind of regular masonry; but an angle towards Nauplia is of fine workmanship, and differs from all the remaining walls, in consisting of two layers of large blocks, succeeded by a narrower course. The whole of this wall is pierced with square holes, like those made for beams, very numerous, and extending over the whole surface. Below this terrace I found part of the shaft of a Doric column, eleven feet six inches in circumference, with twenty flutings. This column was of limestone, and covered with cement. The wall of the upper terrace consists of blocks, heaped rudely together in a very rough Cyclopian

[1] From the Larissa of Argos, it bears N. 27 E. From the Palamídhi, N. 10 W.

style; three layers of stone generally remain. One stone of a triangular form was twelve feet in the sides, and four to five feet thick; another eighteen feet long, and six feet thick; the breadth was concealed by the earth. Below this terrace is another piece of a column, which seems not to have belonged to the same edifice, of which that before mentioned formed a part, being of a harder limestone, roughly worked, unfluted, and 4 feet 1 inch in diameter at the only end I could measure. There are considerable quantities of pottery scattered about.

"My recollections of Pausanias induced me to search the water-courses around; and in the stream to the westward, or towards Mycenæ, I found a conduit which formerly crossed it; higher up I found some traces of a large aqueduct capable of containing the whole of the stream. This induced me to search under the terraces in the side towards Mycenæ, and I found a small cavern into which I crawled with some difficulty, and after removing some stones. It runs directly under the upper terrace, and is about 4 feet wide, lined with that red cement found so frequently in ancient buildings. I could not penetrate more than 15 feet, but could see that it went much farther. Immediately at its entrance it is crossed by a smaller passage about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, which runs on towards the lower terrace. This is not so well preserved, but can be traced for a short distance. Above these ruins, on an eminence, is a little chapel; I visited it, and searched in vain for any ancient remains, but Professor Thiersch tells me he observed some."

In the spring of 1836, Mr. Finlay informed me

that he had spent a few days at Argos with General Gordon, who undertook a small excavation at the ruins of the Heræum. Among some remains of modern buildings he found part of a marble peacock, part of a large antefix of terra-cotta, painted like the tail of a peacock, a lion of bronze about six inches long, well preserved, some other bronzes much corroded, and some terra-cottas very rude. Soon afterwards, I received from Mr. Finlay a plan of the site of the Heræum[1].

On comparing Mr. Finlay's description with the words of Pausanias it is observable that the two terraces, of which the upper was supported by a rude Cyclopian wall, and the lower by a wall of regular masonry, accord with the ancient testimony[2]; on the upper terrace, Pausanias found ruins of the earlier temple, which had been burnt in the year B. C. 423; on the lower stood that which had been built by Eupolemus of Argos, soon after the destruction of the former, and which contained, when it was visited by Pausanias, a statue of the goddess, one of the finest works of Polycleitus, but deprived of its companion, the Hebe of Naucydes, which, as well as the Juno, had been made of ivory and gold[3].

The piece of column which appears to have fallen from the upper terrace, leaves us to infer that the columns of the older building were not fluted, that they were about four feet and a half in diameter, and that the temple, supposing it to have

[1] See the end of this volume.

[2] "Εστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τοῦ προτέρου ναοῦ θεμέλιά τε καὶ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο ὑπελίπετο ἡ φλόξ. Corinth. 17, 7.

[3] Pausan. Corinth. 17, 3. Travels in Morea, ii. p. 389, seq.

been hexastyle, was about 50 feet broad on the upper stylobate,—a dimension which seems in due proportion to the breadth of the peribolus, which was about 150 feet; a space of about 50 feet would thus be left between the long sides of the temple and the peribolus. Between the peribolus and the two fronts of the temple there was a greater space; for, had it been no more, the length of the temple would have been out of proportion to the breadth, and would have required not less than seventeen columns on the sides. In like manner if the piece of column observed by Mr. Finlay below the lower terrace, belonged to the later edifice, its order was Doric, with fluted columns, nearly equal in dimensions to those of the upper temple. To the former, the large antefix of terra-cotta, painted to resemble the tail of a peacock, may be conjectured to have belonged, as the new temple had probably a roof of marble like the other celebrated temples of the age, when it was erected. The peacock relates to the worship of Juno: within the later temple there was a peacock formed of gold and precious stones, the gift of the emperor Hadrian.

Of the two torrents between which the Heræum stood, the north-western was the *Eleutherium*, this having been in the road to the Heræum from Mycenæ [1]; the south-eastern consequently was the

[1] ῥεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὕδωρ Ἐλευθέριον καλούμενον. χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς καθάρσια αἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἑστᾶσιν ἀπορρήτων. Pausan. Corinth. 17, 1. The source of this rivulet seems to have been named Cynadra. Ἐν Ἄργει Κυνάδρα κρήνη, ἐξ ἧς ἔπινον οἱ ἐλευθερούμενοι. ὅθεν τὸ ἐν Κυνάδρᾳ Ἐλευθέριον ὕδωρ. Eustath. in Od. N. 408.

Asterion; and the remains of an aqueduct, as well as the subterraneous passages explored by Mr. Finlay, appear to have been part of the ancient works formed for conveying the water of the Eleutherium to a receptacle within the peribolus of the Heræum, where it served, as Pausanias informs us, for expiations and the secret rites of the temple. As to the Asterion, no confirmation of its identity has yet been derived from the discovery of the chasm in which Pausanias reports it to have been lost, or of the herb *asterion*, which grew upon its banks. Both these rivulets, when I saw them in the winter, were lost in the plain at a short distance below the foot of the mountain.

According to the local mythology, the river Asterion had three daughters, named Eubœa, Prosymna, and Acræa. Eubœa was the mountain, on the lower part of which the temple stood; Acræa, the height which rose over against it—and Prosymna the region below it[1]. As we may safely presume that the temple faced the east, and as on that side alone there can be said to be any hill opposite to the temple, we cannot err in identifying Acræa.

[1] Αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν χθαμαλωτέρῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ὄρος τοῦτο ὀνομάζουσιν Εὔβοιαν, λέγοντες Ἀστερίωνι γενέσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ θυγατέρας Εὔβοιαν καὶ Πρόσυμναν καὶ Ἀκραίαν, εἶναι δὲ σφᾶς τρόφους τῆς Ἥρας· καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀκραίας τὸ ὄρος καλοῦσι τὸ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Ἡραίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Εὐβοίας ὅσον περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, Πρόσυμναν δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡραῖον χώραν· ὁ δὲ Ἀστερίων οὗτος ῥέων ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐς φάραγγα ἐσπίπτων ἀφανίζεται· φύεται δὲ αὐτοῦ πόα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις· Ἀστερίωνα ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὴν πόαν ταύτην. τῇ Ἥρᾳ καὶ αὐτὴν φέρουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων αὐτῆς στεφάνους πλέκουσιν. Pausan. Corinth. 17, 2 (1).

with the ridge or rocky summit, which is separated from the hill of the Heræum by the Asterion, and was not more than 300 yards distant from the temple. According to Strabo, there was a city Prosymna, of which the district bordered upon that of Mideia; and as Mideia stood near the road from Argos to Epidaurus on the left, nearly opposite to Tiryns, I had supposed that the city Prosymna stood between Mideia and the Heræum, and that the χώρα Πρόσυμνα of Pausanias was so called as having been part of the district of Prosymna[1]. But this city, there is reason to believe, stood in a different situation[2], and it seems not unlikely from the nature of the Mythus, as well as the proximity of Mount Acræa, that all the three names belonged to places not far removed from the temple, and all perhaps within the τέμενος of Juno. On this supposition Eubœa was not the great mountain which is a continuation of that which overlooked Mycenæ on the east, but the small rocky peak which rises immediately behind the site of the temple, and this seems the more likely, as although the words ἐν χθαμαλωτέρῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας, by which Pausanias describes the situation of the temple, are equally true, applied to either height, ὅσον περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν is hardly applicable to the greater mountain.

[1] Tr. in Morea, ii. p. 393, 418.

[2] See below, p. 269.

VOL. ii. p. 396.

This description of the Theatre of Argos agrees with its plan and section in the Expédition Scientifique [1], except that I have not noticed the increasing breadth of the seats in the two upper divisions, and that, according to M. Ravoisié, there are 35 ranges in the lower division, or three more than I have stated. But these may have been brought to light since my last visit to Argos; and when we consider that the lowest range in the French plan belongs to a semicircle of about 180 feet in diameter, and that the Greek orchestra was seldom more than 80 feet in width, it becomes highly probable that below the extant seats, which are all cut out of the rock, there were 15 or 20 constructed seats, and another præcinction. On this supposition, there were about 90 ranges in all, capable of containing between thirty and forty thousand spectators. The total diameter, according to the French plan, was 560 English feet. There may still, however, be some doubt, as I before suggested [2], whether the upper seats were continued on either side to the wings: first, because it seems unlikely that the theatre of Argos should have been so much larger than that of Athens, as such a diameter indicates; secondly, because the walls supporting the wings would have been of the enormous height of 120 feet; and, thirdly, because there are some seats cut in the rock adjoining the theatre on the south-western side, which appear to be too near to that wing to admit of the curve of the extant upper seats in the middle of the cavea

[1] Architecture, &c. vol. ii. plate 58, 59.

[2] Tr. in Morea, ii. p. 398.

having been produced so far. The former seats were considered by the French Commission as having belonged to another theatre, but no plan of them is given; and to me they appeared rectilinear, as I have already stated [1], which, if true, shows that they formed part of a stadium.

Vol. ii. p. 399.

The remains of the aqueduct here stated to be traceable to Bélissi are to be seen, according to the map of the French Surveyors, two miles beyond that village to the north-west.

Vol. ii. p. 413.

Though it is evident from the passage of Pausanias here cited, that Œnoë stood between the rivers *Charadrus* and *Inachus* [2], it was a mistaken inference from one part of that passage to conclude, that its situation was on or near the left bank of the *Charadrus;* whereas, in truth, it seems to have stood not far from the right bank of the *Inachus.* The words referred to are προελθοῦσι δὲ αὐτόθι διαβάντων ποταμὸν Χαράδρον καλούμενόν ἐστιν Οἰνόη: *translated,* "After passing the torrent Charadrus, the traveller arrived at the place called Œnoë." But it seems that Pausanias by αὐτόθι merely intended to show that in the road from Argos to Mantineia the Charadrus was crossed at the temple of Venus and Mars which he had just described; so that προελθοῦσιν

[1] Tr. in Morea, ii. p. 397. [2] Corinth. 25, 2.

leaves an indefinite distance between the crossing of the Charadrus and Œnoë; and that this distance was not small, is evident from his statement in the sequel of the same passage, that Œnoë stood at the foot of Mount Artemisium, the nearest part of which is eight miles in direct distance from Argos, while the crossing of the *Charadrus* could not have been so much as two miles by the road from the gate of Deiras, at which the route to Mantineia commenced. Œnoë seems also to have been near the Inachus; for Pausanias, having stated that Artemisium rose above Œnoë, adds that the sources of the Inachus were in the same mountain [1]. Again, when he resumes the route from Argos to Mantineia, in the Arcadica [2], and refers to the former passage, he shows that one of the roads from the Argolic frontier to Mantineia passed along the Inachus to its sources in Mount Artemisium, whence it seems evident that this road from Argos must have passed through or near Œnoë; probably the other road to Mantineia diverged not far from the same place. From all which it appears that instead of translating προελθοῦσι, &c. "after passing the torrent Charadrus, the traveller arrived at the place called Œnoë," we ought to translate thus, "having there passed the torrent Charadrus, the traveller proceeded to Œnoë." We may also conclude, that instead of Œnoë having stood "on or near the left bank of the Rema of Argos," it stood "on or near the right bank of the Bánitza."

[1] Ὑπὲρ τῆς Οἰνόης ὄρος ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμίσιον, καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους. ἐν τούτῳ δέ εἰσι τῷ ὄρει καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου. Pausan. Corinth. 25, 3. [2] Arcad. 6, 2 (4).

Vol. ii. p. 415.

Some remains of *Lyrceia* have been observed at Skala on the left bank of the *Inachus*, five G. M. direct to the N. W. of the acropolis of Argos, and in sight from it; thus according with the 60 stades of Pausanias, as well as with the story of Lynceus and Hypermnestra.

Vol. ii. p. 417.

There are two places at the foot of the hills on the eastern side of the Argolic plain where Hellenic remains have been observed; 1st, near Dendrá, $5\frac{1}{2}$ G. M. direct E. by N. from the citadel of Argos, forming with Argos and Nauplia a triangle nearly equilateral; 2ndly, near Katzíngri, 2 G. M. due E. of *Tiryns*, and forming with *Tiryns* and *Nauplia* a smaller triangle of the same kind. In the French map the position near Dendrá has been identified with *Mideia*, or, according to Strabo, *Midea*[1]; but this will hardly agree with Pausanias, who says, that on returning from Tiryns into the road leading from Argos to the Epidauria, the ruins of Mideia were on the left[2]. Dendrá is indeed to the left of

[1] ἔρημος δ' ἐστὶ κἀκείνη (Tiryns sc.) καὶ ἡ πλησίον Μιδέα ἐτέρα οὖσα τῆς Βοιωτικῆς· ἐκείνη γάρ ἐστι Μίδεα ὡς πρόνοια, αὕτη δὲ Μιδέα, ὡς Τεγέα. Ταύτῃ δ' ὅμορος Πρύσυμνα καὶ αὕτη ἱερὸν ἔχουσα Ἥρας. Strabo, p. 373.

[2] ἐπανελθόντων δ' ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ἐπὶ Μιδείαν ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἥξεις. . . . . κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον εὐθεῖάν ἐστι κώμη Λῆσσα. Pausan. Corinth. 25, 8, 9 (9, 10).

that line, but more than 3 G. M. in direct distance, whereas the words of Pausanias require Mideia to be much nearer to the road, and accord with those of Strabo, in placing it near Tiryns. *Mideia*, therefore, seems rather to have been at St. Adrian near Katzíngri. This place, it is true, was close on the right and not to the left of the modern road from Argos to Epidaurus; but possibly there was anciently a junction of routes from Argos and Nauplia at the eastern extremity of the plain of Nauplia to the S. E. of Katzíngri, leaving St. Adrian to the left, and passing near the southern walls of the two Hellenic fortresses which are seen to the right of the modern route from Argos to Ligurió. Of these fortresses, to which Pausanias makes no allusion, the westernmost may be *Prosymna*, as having bordered upon Mideia, agreeably to the words of Strabo; the situation accords with the "celsa Prosymna" of Statius, who had probably some Greek authority for this epithet, as well as for having contrasted Prosymna with the "aptior armentis Mideia[1]," a description well suited to the position on the edge of the Argolic plain which I have attributed to Mideia. The other ancient fortress, which lies between the supposed *Prosymna* and Ligurió, (the ancient Lessa,) may possibly be the "pecorosa Phyllus," which Statius joins with the other two; for the situation in the midst of heights is not less adapted to flocks than the plains around Mideia

[1] Huic armat Larissa viros: huic celsa Prosymne,
Aptior armentis Midea, pecorosaque Phyllus.
Stat. Theb. 4, 44.

were to herds. *Phyllus* is perhaps the *Argolic Phlius* of Ptolemy [1], whose names are often misspelt.

VOL. ii. p. 419.

In the text of Pausanias it is said that Mount Arachnæum was more anciently named Σαπυσελάτων. Ὑσσελινὸν is the name in Hesychius. Perhaps Hyoselaton, Ὑοσελάτων (the swine's fir-forest), was the true name.

VOL. ii. p. 441.

M. de Stackelberg, one of the discoverers of the Phigalian marbles which are now in the British Museum, endeavoured to prove, in his work on the temple of Phigalia, (Rome, 1826,) that the ruined temple near the north-eastern extremity of the island of Ægina is not that of Jupiter Panhellenius, as had been generally believed, but that of Minerva, mentioned by Herodotus. In this opinion he has had many followers, and among them the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth [2].

In a paper read at the Royal Society of Literature in May 1833, I gave some reasons for continuing to attach the name of Jupiter Panhellenius to this temple. I need not, therefore, at present enter fully into the arguments which tend to account for its having been built at a distance of five miles from the peak of St. Elias, which is the highest and only remarkable mountain in Ægina, and of which the

[1] Ptolem. Geogr. 3, 16.

[2] Athens and Attica, p. 267. London, 1836.

modern name τὸ Ὄρος is supposed to identify it with the Ὄρος Πανελλήνιον or Ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς of Pausanias[1]. I shall merely advert to the reasons which Dr. Wordsworth has adduced for considering the temple to have been dedicated to Minerva. These are, 1st, the figure of that deity in the centre of either pediment; 2ndly, an Attic inscription of the fifth century B.C. on the lintel of a small church situated a mile to the westward of the extant temple, showing that the inscribed stone marked the boundary of a portion of land sacred to Minerva[2]; 3rdly, a remark of Theophrastus, that when clouds rested on the temple of Jupiter Hellanius in Ægina it was a prognostic of rain at Athens. This is supposed to prove that the temple stood on the peak of St. Elias.

But, as I have already observed[3], Minerva is not introduced into the compositions of the pediments with reference to the worship within the temple, but to the particular actions represented on the pediments, which are probably the heroic deeds of some of the Æacidæ, or descendants of Æacus, who was reputed to have been a son of Jupiter, and the founder of the Panhellenium. In all such actions Minerva was supposed to be present as ἐπίκουρος of the hero, and she is generally so introduced in ancient compositions of this kind, on gems, vases, and marbles. There is

[1] Corinth. 30, 3. 4.

[2] ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ
·ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΣ
i. e. (Ὄρος) τεμένους Ἀθηναίας.

[3] Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, ii. p. 381.

no instance known of a temple with a statue of the principal deity over the door; nor would it probably have been congenial with the religious customs of Greece. On the other hand, Minerva was perfectly in her place, as assisting some of the descendants of Jupiter in their heroic actions. 2. The existence of a temenus of Minerva at the distance of a mile from the temple is not at all inconsistent with the fact of that temple having been dedicated to Jupiter. Such sacred portions were everywhere common, and there were probably few of the great temples of Jupiter to which there were not attached a sacellum and a sacred portion of Minerva. Dr. Wordsworth discovered in a church at Marathóna, on the western coast of Ægina, an inscription precisely similar to that near the temple, and which shows that at Marathóna there existed a portion of land sacred to Apollo and Neptune[1]. As to the words of Theophrastus, it is to be observed, that they do not in strictness relate to the capping of the peak, although of necessity they comprehend that meaning, but to the resting of the clouds on the *temple* of Jupiter Panhellenius[2]. The

[1] ΗΟΡΟΣ
ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ
ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ Athens and Attica, p. 373.

Dr. Wordsworth considers this inscription a proof that the temple of Apollo, mentioned by Pausanias, stood at Marathóna. Pausanias, however, seems clearly to place the temple of Apollo in the city of Ægina, and he adds, that adjacent to it was a temple not of Neptune but of Diana, and another of Bacchus. (Corinth. 30, 1.)

[2] Ἐὰν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑλλανίου νέφελη καθίζηται, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὕδωρ γίγνεται. Theophr. de sig. pluv.

temple and the peak are very nearly in the same line from Athens; and when the peak is capped, the clouds overhang the temple, and sometimes cover it.

Since the publication of the second volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, I have learnt that in the year 1828 there was discovered among the ruins of the temple a fragment of entablature, or perhaps the capital of an anta, on which, in letters about an inch in height, are the words ΔΙΙ ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΩΙ and two letters of a second line in smaller characters; all the rest have been broken off or obliterated. A drawing of this fragment has been published in the Expédition Scientifique de la Morée [1].

[1] Architecture, &c., iii. pl. 52. The subjoined will serve to show the form of the fragment and the place of the inscription:

Doubts have been thrown on the authenticity of this inscription, but without any sufficient reason. Indeed, there could have been no motive for the forgery but a desire to prove the temple to have been that of Jupiter Panhellenius; and to effect this purpose, so as to impose upon any one at all accustomed to examine Greek inscriptions, would have been a difficult task. The fragment has been seen by many travellers of late years, and among them by Mr. George Finlay of Athens, and by M. Prokesch, Austrian minister at the court of King Otho, both of whom considered it to be a genuine monument, found on the spot. Nor can I learn that any one who has *seen* it has suspected it to be a forgery.

Some persons may think, perhaps, that this dedication to Jupiter no more proves this temple to be the Panhellenium, than that which preserves the words τέμενος Ἀθηναίας proves it to be a temple of Minerva; but there is a difference between a document discovered among the ruins of a temple and one found at a considerable distance from it. It is true that the dimensions and mouldings of the fragment will not easily admit of the supposition that it ever formed part of the temple: the dialect and form of the letters demonstrate also that it was of a much later date, possibly as late as the Roman Empire. It seems, therefore, to have belonged to some separate and subordinate dedication within the sacred inclosure, such as were common in all the great sanctuaries of Greece.

Dr. Wordsworth supposes not only that the temple was dedicated to Minerva, but that it was built by the Athenians; which would require its date to

have been posterior to that of their conquest of the island in the year 456 B. C., or rather to their colonization after expelling the Æginetæ in 431[1]. But the temple cannot be less ancient than the statues in the pediments, those statues having evidently been adapted to the dimensions and form of the pediment, and their sculpture being plainly of the sixth, not of the fifth, century B. C. All we know of the temple of Minerva is, that in the year B. C. 519 the Æginetæ therein dedicated some brazen prows in the shape of boars' heads, which, according to a common practice, they had cut off from some Samian ships taken in battle[2]. Such a dedication was much more likely to have been made to a Minerva Πολιὰς in the city of Ægina than in a remote temple, unless it can be proved beyond a doubt, that, contrary to custom, the Minerva of the Æginetans had her principal temple on a mountain distant from the city. We must also reflect, that if the extant temple be not the Panhellenium, Pausanias has not bestowed the smallest notice on this magnificent building, although he has described that of Aphæa, and even mentions his having sacrificed to the statues of Damia and Auxesia, made of Athenian olive-wood, in the same manner as it was customary to sacrifice to Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis. The temple of Damia and Auxesia, according to Herodotus, stood at a town of Ægina named Œa; but neither this

[1] Thucyd. 1, 108. 2, 27.

[2] ἕκτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς, ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες, ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν· καὶ τῶν νηῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρώρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν, καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. Herodot. 3, 59.

position nor that of the temple of Aphæa has yet been determined. Œa is described by Herodotus as having been in the interior of the island [1], a situation confirmed by the defeat of the Athenians by the Argives between Œa and the sea-shore, in the expedition of the former to recover the statues of Damia and Auxesia, as related by the same historian [2]. Œa was perhaps the chief town of the island before the time of Æacus and his mother Ægina, when the island was named Œnone, when safety required an inland situation for the town, and when that commerce and naval power which drew population to the maritime site had not yet commenced, but which had made the latter the capital before the time of Herodotus. On this supposition it is not unlikely that Œa occupied the site of Paleá-Khora, the most natural of all situations for the chief town when the island was deprived of naval protection, and which, in fact, has been the capital whenever safety has required an inland situation. It was so when I visited Ægina in 1802. The maritime site which had been inhabited during the occupation of the Moréa by the Venetians was then deserted, and so continued until Greece having asserted her independence, the ancient site was again abandoned, and commerce and population once more returned to the place which they had occupied in

[1] *τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμίης καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαιρέονται αὐτέων, καί σφεα ἐκόμισάν τε καὶ ἱδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρης ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῇ Οἴη μέν ἐστι οὔνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχει.* Herodot. 5, 83. V. Pausan. Corinth. 30, 5.

[2] *ὑποταμομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν.* Herodot. 5, 86. Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 439.

Hellenic times. The objection of Paleá-Khora as the site of *Œa* is, that its distance from E'ghina, or the maritime city, is about thirty stades, instead of the twenty of Herodotus.

The temple of Aphæa, (the Dictynna of Crete,) in whose honour Pindar wrote a hymn for the Æginetæ, was situated on the road (from the maritime city) to the mountain of Jupiter Panhellenius[1]. But this direction is ambiguous, as there are no means of determining whether Pausanias intended the road to the extant temple or to the peak of St. Elias. Two very ancient Doric inscriptions, and some other remains at the foot of this Peak on its north-eastern side, prove that here stood another ancient temple, which one of the inscriptions gives reason to believe to have been dedicated to Hebe[2]. That there should have been a temple of Hebe at Ægina is not surprising, when we consider the connexion between Ægina and Phlius, and that the Hebæum was the principal temple in the acropolis of Phlius[3]. The chapel of St. Elias on the Peak is formed in part of polygonal masonry, demonstrating the former existence here of another monument of some kind, but which on such a site must have been of small dimensions. It may possibly have been an altar or sacellum of Jupiter.

[1] ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσίν ἐστιν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν. Pausan. Corinth. 30, 3.

[2] See Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature, ii. p 383.

[3] Ægina was said to have been the daughter of Asopus of Phlius, who was a son of Neptune, and to have been carried off by Jupiter from Phlius to the island Ægina. At Olympia and Delphi were statues of Jupiter and Ægina, dedicated by the Phliasii. (Pausan. Corinth. 12, 3; 13, 3. El. pr. 22, 5 (6). Phocic. 13, 3 (6). Apollod. 3, 12, § 6. Diodor. 4, 72.)

Vol. ii. p. 454.

According to the French geographers there are two hot sulphureous sources in the peninsula of Methana; one called Vroma on the northern coast, the other near a village Vromolímni, a little above the eastern shore: these names are derived from the smell of the waters. There are traces of ancient baths at both the places; but the northern is probably that intended by Strabo and Ovid[1]; for here are vestiges of the volcanic eruption which they describe; and though the distance of this place from the ruins of *Methana* is rather greater than the thirty stades of Pausanias[2], that of Vromolímni differs much more in defect. The French Commission observed Hellenic remains in five or six different places in the peninsula of Methana besides those at Megálokhorió, the site of the ancient city. There appear to have been two fortified towns towards the exterior or northern side of the peninsula; and on or near the isthmus are the remains of four small fortresses, which, having been evidently intended for the protection of the peninsula against the mainland, were probably built by the Athenians.

Thucydides informs us, that in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war the Athenians fortified the isthmus[3] of Methana; but the extant remains are those of works of a more lasting nature than were

[1] Strabo, p. 59. Ovid. Metam. 15, 296.

[2] Corinth. 34, 1.

[3] ἀφίκοντο ἐς Μεθώνην τὴν μεταξὺ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Τροιζῆνος καὶ ἀπολαβόντες, τὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ᾧ ἡ Μεθώνη ἐστὶ, καὶ φρούριον καταστησάμενοι, ἐλῄστευον τὸν ἔπειτα

in use among the Greeks in military expeditions, and leave the probability that the Athenians had permanent possession of this peninsula during the time when they were all-powerful at sea.

VOL. ii. p. 456.

The most remarkable site in the north-eastern part of *Argolis* preserving remains of a fortified Hellenic town is at Angheló-kastro. It is perhaps *Molycium*, which, according to some authority followed by Hesychius, was the place where Theseus vanquished Periphates [1], and carried off his club; for Angheló-kastro lay exactly in the route of Theseus from Trœzen to the Isthmus, and was in the Epidauria, where the action is said by other authors to have occurred.

VOL. ii. p. 457 et seq.

The *Argolic Acte* has now, by means of the science and diligence of the French Commission, been

χρόνον τήν τε Τροιζηνίαν γῆν καὶ Ἀλιάδα καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίαν. Thuc. 4, 45.

Strabo remarks (p. 374) that in *some* of the copies of Thucydides Methana was written Methone. This form has prevailed. The words ἐν ᾧ ἡ Μεθώνη ἐστὶ, however, seem not to belong to the text: they are not only superfluous, but express that which never could have been true; namely, that the town of Methone stood on the isthmus of the Chersonese.

[1] Μωλύχιον· ἔνθα Λυκοῦργος (l. Θησεὺς) τὸν Κορυνήτην ἀνεῖλε, τόπος. Hesych. in v.

delineated in such a manner as will enable us to compare the description of this great promontory by Pausanias with its true geography. The difficulties, however, to which I have before adverted, are almost as great as ever. In meeting these difficulties we cannot be allowed to presume that Pausanias, not having himself travelled in this part of Peloponnesus, had adopted, in default of a personal examination, incorrect or imperfect information, as Strabo has often done. There is sufficient internal evidence that Pausanias visited Hermione and Mases, and consequently some if not all the other places of which he treats.

Subjoined is his description of the country between Trœzen and Hermione[1]. I need not repeat

[1] Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἑρμιόνην ἐκ Τροιζῆνος κατὰ τὴν πέτραν, ἣ πρότερον μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διὸς βωμός, μετὰ δὲ Θησέα ἀνελόμενον τὰ γνωρίσματα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ νῦν Θησέως αὐτήν· κατὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν πέτραν ἰοῦσιν ὀρεινὴν ὁδὸν, ἔστι μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπίκλησιν Πλαταυνιστίου ναός· ἔστι δὲ Εἰλεοὶ χωρίον, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερά· τὰ δὲ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐν ὅροις τῆς Ἑρμιονίδος ἱερὸν Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν Θερμασίας. Σταδίους δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχει μάλιστα ἄκρα, Σκυλλαῖον ἀπὸ τῆς Νίσου καλουμένη θυγατρός. . . . . Ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυλλαίου πλέοντι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἄκρα τ' ἔστιν ἑτέρα Βουκέφαλα, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν νῆσοι· πρώτη μὲν Ἁλιοῦσσα, (παρέχεται δὲ αὕτη λιμένα ἐνορμίσασθαι ναῦσιν ἐπιτήδειον,) μετὰ δὲ Πιτυοῦσσα· τρίτη δὲ ἦν Ἀριστερὰς ὀνομάζουσι. ταύτας δὲ παραπλεύσαντί ἐστιν αὖθις ἄκρα Κωλυεργία καλουμένη, ἀνέχουσα ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου· μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν νῆσος Τρίκρανα καλουμένη καὶ ὄρος ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου προβεβλημένον, Βούπορθμος. Ἐν Βουπόρθμῳ δὲ πεποίηται μὲν ἱερὸν Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς, πεποίηται δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐπίκλησις δέ ἐστι τῇ θεῷ Προμαχόρμα. Πρόκειται δὲ Βουπόρθμου νῆσος Ἀπεροπία καλουμένη. τῆς δὲ Ἀπεροπίας ἀφέστηκεν οὐ πολὺ ἑτέρα νῆσος Ὑδρέα· μετὰ ταύτην αἰγιαλός τε παρήκει τῆς ἠπείρου μηνοειδὴς, καὶ ἀκτὴ μετὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ Ποσείδιον, ἐκ τῆς

the English interpretation, which is contained in the pages of Travels in Moréa, stated above.

Of the position of *Hermione* itself there can be no question: the dimensions of the peninsula of Kastrí agree with those ascribed to the ἀκτὴ ἐπὶ Ποσείδιον at Hermione by Pausanias; namely, seven stades in length, and three in breadth. On this promontory are numerous remains of Hermione in its best times, with those of a temple at the extremity corresponding to that of Neptune. There is likewise, at the modern village of Kastrí, a church preserving some portions of another temple; so that Kastrí seems to occupy exactly the position of *Hermione* as it existed in the age of Pausanias, when the town was confined to that which in more ancient times had been the acropolis.

The description by Pausanias of the places between Trœzen and Hermione may be divided into two parts: 1. the route by land from Trœzen to Hermione; and 2. the sea-shore between Scyllæum and Hermione: for after having conducted his reader from Trœzen across the Trœzenian promontory to the temple of Ceres Thermasia on the coast of the Hermionis, he then states the distance of that temple from Cape Scyllæum, and from the latter commences a paraplus to Hermione. Three of the

θαλάσσης μὲν ἀρχομένη τῆς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, προϊκουσα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ λιμένας ἐν αὐτῇ· μῆκος μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐστιν ἑπτά που στάδια, πλάτος δὲ, ᾗ πλατυτάτη, σταδίων τριῶν, οὐ πλέον. Ἐνταῦθα ἡ προτέρα πόλις τοῖς Ἑρμιονεῦσιν ἦν. ἔστι δέ σφισι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἱερὰ αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῇ ἀρχῇ, προελθοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὰ μετέωρα ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ σταδίου θεμέλια. (Pausan. Corinth. 34, 6—10.)

places mentioned by him have preserved their ancient names in a modern form: the promontory Scyllæum is now Kavo-Skyli; the ruins of *Eilei* are now called I'lio; and the modern name Thérmisi is obviously derived from the temple of Ceres Thermasia. Of this temple no vestiges have been observed, and its exact position, therefore, is uncertain; but the application of the modern name to a lagoon, saltwork, and bay, as well as to a cape which shelters the bay from the west, leaves no doubt as to the whereabouts of the temple, notwithstanding that the true distance of Thérmisi from Cape Skyli, namely, ten geographical miles, is greater than the eighty stades of Pausanias. In stating that this sanctuary was within the limits of the Hermionis, Pausanias seems to show that the river which joins the sea on the eastern side of the bay of Thérmisi formed the boundary between the districts of *Trœzen* and *Hermione*, but possibly in the lower part of its course only; for *Eilei*, which is on a height rising from the right bank, would rather appear from his words to have been in the *Trœzenia*. The course of this river was the most natural line of road from Trœzen to Hermione, when the mountain of Dhamalá, on which occurred the *rock of Theseus*, had been passed. Between the rock of Theseus and Eilei there was a temple of Apollo Platanistius; but neither the rock has been identified, nor the site of the temple determined.

In the paraplus from Scyllæum to Hermione, Pausanias names Scyllæum first, and then Bucephala, with three adjacent islands. Hence it seems necessary to divide the extremity now generally known as

Kavo-Skyli into two parts; the bold round promontory to the north being the true Scyllæum, and the acute cape a mile to the south of it Bucephala; for the three islands are adjacent to the latter. Of these the nearest (ἡ πρώτη μετὰ τὴν ἄκραν) was named Haliussa, the next to it Pityussa, and the outermost Aristeræ; the last alone is mentioned by Pliny[1], which is accounted for by its being the most important, as well from its dimensions as from its position, which renders it an object of greater remark to navigators. According to Pausanias, there was a harbour at Haliussa: modern observation has not confirmed this fact, or has overlooked such a place of shelter as may have been serviceable to the small vessels of the ancients. The only harbour in this vicinity noticed by modern surveyors is at Furkariá, on the main land, where the shelter is partly derived from a small island, and where exist remains of a Hellenic fortress or town as well as some Roman ruins[2]. This place is unnoticed by Pausanias, and continues to be one of the numerous ancient sites in the Argolic peninsula, for which there are no means of finding a name. The French Commission observed some parts of these ruins to be so much under water as to leave no doubt that the sea had here gained upon the land[3]. The same thing has occurred in other parts of the eastern coast of Greece. It is particularly remarkable at *Salamis*, *Epidaurus*, and *Hermione*, and on the south-eastern shores of the Moréa at Monemvasía, Elafonísi, and *Gythium*.

[1] Plin. H. N. 4, 12 (19).

[2] Boblaye, Rech. Géogr. p. 60.

[3] Exp. Scient. Géographie, &c. p. 364.

Between Bucephala and Hermione, Pausanias places the promontories Colyergia and Buporthmus, the island Tricrana near the former, and the island Aperopia near the latter. But there are no promontories on this coast, except Cape Thérmisi, of which Pausanias had already spoken, and a low alluvial projection of recent formation five miles to the eastward of it. Nor are there any islands nearer to this coast than four or five miles. Two attempts may be made to resolve this problem, though neither of them is very satisfactory: 1st, That the island now named Ydhra is not *Hydrea*, but *Tricrana;* but though such a removal of an ancient name is not very uncommon in the case of sites on the mainland, I know of no example of the same kind of change from one island to another. Hydrea, moreover, from the transaction relating to it which is mentioned by Herodotus, seems to have been of some importance anciently[1], and for this reason alone is likely to have been the largest of the islands. On the supposition of Ydhra having been *Tricrana*, the promontory *Buporthmus* would still remain to be identified, and which could not have been the modern Cape Thérmisi, because at Buporthmus there were temples of Minerva and of Ceres and Proserpine, showing the place to have been not the same as that noted for its temple of Ceres Thermasia. Add to which, that the name *Buporthmus*

[1] The Samian exiles after their unsuccessful attempts, in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, to recover their island from Polycrates, employed their fleet in raising contributions. They exacted 100 talents from the Siphnii; and instead of money received from the people of Hermione the island of Hydrea, which they pawned to the Trœzenii. Herodot. 3, 59.

seems clearly to point to Cape Muzáki and the narrow passage between it and the island Dhokó.

The second conjecture is, that the paraplus of Pausanias, instead of following the channel between Ydhra and the main, may have made the circuit of Ydhra, and that *Colyergia* may have been the eastern cape of that island. The island Tríkeri, resembling *Tricrana* in name, would then be the next in order, and beyond it, in the same order, the entrance into the bay of *Hermione*, between Cape Muzáki and Dhokó, the former answering to *Buporthmus*, the latter to *Aperopia*, near which, as Pausanias truly says, was *Hydrea*, now Ydhra. In this case, no addition or alteration would be required in his text; and we must admit that the name Colyergia (from κωλύω ἔργον) is well adapted to that promontory, which, jutting out farther eastward even than Cape Skyli or its islands, is often the main impediment to the entrance of ships into the Saronic Gulf. But we must then suppose, that which is scarcely admissible in the case of any one who had really visited the places, that Pausanias had mistaken the island Hydrea for a part of the continent; for he expressly describes Colyergia as ἀνέχουσα ἐκ τοῦ ἠπείρου.

Whatever may be the deficiency in the text or information of Pausanias, there can be little hesitation in attaching the ancient name *Aperopia* to Dhokó, this being, next to Ydhra, the most considerable of the islands opposite to *Hermione*, and Aperopia being mentioned as one of those islands by Pliny[1] as well as by Pausanias. It may be said,

[1] Contra Hermionium agrum, Tiparenus, Aperopia, Colonis, Aristera. Contra Trœzenium, Calauria. Plin. Hist. Nat. 4, 12 (19).

perhaps, that Spétzia, being also adjacent to a part of the shore of *Hermionis*, has an equal claim to have been *Aperopia;* but, on this supposition, the text of Pausanias becomes quite inexplicable, while Cape Kostá, opposite to Spétzia, is much less adapted than Cape Muzáki, opposite to Dhokó, to the name *Buporthmus.*

In regard to Spétzia, we may perhaps be allowed to conjecture, that it was omitted by Pausanias, because his description of this coast terminates at Hermione. The order of names in Pliny, and the occurrence of Colonis in his text, in the place of Hydrea, favour the supposition that Colonis and Hydrea were one and the same island.

Next to Hermione, Pausanias describes Halice and Mases[1]. At seven stades from Hermione the road to Halice separated from that to Mases; the former led between the mountains Pron and Coccygium (more anciently called Thornax), while that of Mases continued along an extremity of Thornax, on

[1] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Μάσητα εὐθεῖαν προελθοῦσιν ἑπτά που σταδίους καὶ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐς Ἁλίκην ἐστὶν ὁδός· ἡ δὲ Ἁλίκη τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἔρημος, ᾠκεῖτο δὲ καὶ αὕτη ποτέ . . . ἔστι δ' οὖν ὁδὸς καὶ ἐς ταύτην τοῦ τε Πρωνὸς μέση καὶ ὄρους ἑτέρου Θόρνακος καλουμένου τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Διὸς ἐς κόκκυγα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆς λεγομένης ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι μετονομασθῆναι τὸ ὄρος φασίν. ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωνί ἐστιν Ἥρας· καὶ τοῦ τε Κοκκυγίου πρὸς τοῖς πέρασι ναός ἐστι, θύραι δὲ οὐκ ἐφεστήκασιν, οὐδὲ ὄροφον εἶχεν, οὐδέ οἱ τι ἐνῆν ἄγαλμα· εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγετο ὁ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁδός ἐστιν ἐπὶ Μάσητα τοῖς ἐκτραπεῖσιν ἐκ τῆς εὐθείας. Μάσητι δὲ οὔσῃ πόλει τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καθὰ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ἀργείων καταλόγῳ πεποίηκεν, ἐπινείῳ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο Ἑρμιονεῖς. Corinth. 36, 1 seq.

which there was a ruined temple of Apollo, until it separated from another road, which Pausanias describes as ἡ εὐθεῖα, probably the main route from Hermione to Argos. He does not state on which hand the road to Mases branched from this main route, but, as Mases was in his time a port dependent on Hermione, there can be no question that it was to the left.

The French Surveyors observed two Hellenic positions indicated by ruins in the peninsula of Kranídhi. One of these is on the south-eastern shore of the peninsula, where a small island affords some shelter: and is about equidistant, or three miles, from Kastrí (*Hermione*), and from Cape Muzáki (*Buporthmus*). The other Hellenic ruins in this peninsula are on the southern side of the land-locked basin called Port Kheli or Bizáti. The former the French geographers suppose to have been *Halice*, the latter *Mases*. But I am more disposed to place *Halice* at Port Bizáti, and *Mases*, as I before suggested, at Port Kiládhia[1]; the ruins which the French geographers have named *Halice*, having more probably been some dependency of *Hermione*, of which the name is not recorded in ancient history. The position is too near to Hermione to have been that of Halice, and the harbour was too inconvenient for a people who in the time of the Peloponnesian war constituted an autonomy of some importance[2]; and who, though dependent on the Hermionenses in the time of Strabo, were still noted for their nautical

[1] Travels in Moréa, ii. p. 463.

[2] Thucyd. 2, 56. 4, 45.

industry[1]. It is much more probable that such a people should have possessed Port Bizáti, the situation of which, at the entrance of the Argolic Gulf, agrees perfectly with the description of Halia by Scylax[2]. And this arrangement of Halice and Mases, with regard to Hermione, will enable us better to understand the remark of Pausanias, that the road from Hermione to Halice led between the mountains Pron and Thornax; for we know that Pron was the mountain on which stood the Hermione of the time of Pausanias; and, consequently, *Thornax* or *Coccygium*, was that which is separated from *Pron* by the valley leading from Kastrí to Kranídhi. It appears from Pausanias, that the road from Hermione to Halice followed this valley for some distance before it turned off to the left over a part of Mount Thornax, whereas, had *Halice* been where it is marked in the French map, the road thither from Hermione would have led not between Pron and Thornax, but between Thornax and the sea.

After Mases, Pausanias proceeds to notice the promontory Struthus, Philanorium, the Bolei, Didymi, and Asine: after which he describes the places at the inner extremity of the Argolic Gulf, namely, Lerna, Temenium, and Nauplia. If *Mases* be placed at Kiládhia, the promontory *Struthus*, to which there was a road to the right from *Mases*, will answer to one of the two great projections

[1] Ἑρμιόνη δ' ἐστὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων πόλεων· ἧς τὴν παραλίαν ἔχουσιν Ἁλιεῖς λεγόμενοι, θαλαττουργοί τινες ἄνδρες. Strabo, p. 373.

[2] Ἁλία καὶ λιμὴν· αὕτη ἐστὶ ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀργολικοῦ κόλπου. Scylax, Perip. p. 44, Gronov.

from Mount Avgó, which embrace the bay of Vurliá, and are the most remarkable promontories on this coast, forming, with the island Ypsilí, the entrance into that subordinate division of the *Argolic* Gulf, which terminated at Tolón, and may possibly have been called the *Asinæan* Gulf. As Pausanias has not given us the distance from *Mases* to *Struthus*, we cannot determine which of the two capes he had in view: the western is the more remarkable, but there is no improbability in supposing that both the promontories, as well as the enclosed bay, bore the name of *Struthus*, as they now bear that of Vurliá.

Didymi preserves its name in the form Δίδυμα, now attached to a village situated in a valley, two miles in diameter, as well as to a mountain on its north-eastern side, which, with the exception of Ortholíthi, a summit a few miles further to the northward, is the highest in the *Argolic* peninsula. The valley of Dhídhyma is remarkable, as being the only one in this part of the Moréa, so closely surrounded with mountains as to allow no passage for the running waters, but through the mountains themselves. That so peculiar and secluded a district should have preserved its ancient name, is not surprising: and there can be no hesitation, therefore, in here fixing *Didymi*, although no Hellenic remains may be extant to confirm it. In the time of Pausanias, it preserved temples of Apollo, of Neptune, and of Ceres, containing upright statues of those deities[1].

[1] Pausan. Corinth. 36, 4 (3).

The late Mr. Hawkins, of Bignor, found at Dhídhyma a

The intimation given by Pausanias, that the road from Struthus to Philanorium, which latter was no more than 20 stades from Didymi, led over the summits of mountains[1], agrees perfectly with the relative positions of Vurliá and Dhídhyma, between which places, through the greater part of the distance, stretches the long ridge of Mount Avgó. But his distance of 250 stades from *Struthus* to *Philanorium*, is quite extravagant, neither *Argos* nor *Trœzene* being so far from Vurliá: and the utmost distance in a direct line from the western or most distant Cape of Vurliá to Dhídhyma village, being not more than 8 geographical miles. No use therefore can be made of this *datum* of Pausanias, and the situation of *Philanorium* and *Bolei*, which seem to have been adjacent to one another, must remain unknown, unless some monumental evidence should come to our assistance.

After having described *Didymi*, Pausanias appears to have resumed his *paraplus*, or description of the coast onwards from Struthus, towards the head of the Argolic Gulf: for *Asine*, which he next mentions, was certainly on that part of the coast. This ancient city,

curious natural cavity in the earth, so regular as to appear artificial, and an ancient well with a flight of steps down to the water (*ap.* Gell, Itin. of Morêa, p. 199); but he seems not to have observed any remains of defensive walls, or of the temples noticed by Pausanias.

[1] Ἀπὸ Μάσητος δὲ ὁδὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστιν ἐπὶ ἄκραν καλουμένην Στρυθοῦντα· στάδιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ταύτης κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς κορυφὰς πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ διακόσιοι ἐπὶ Φιλανόριόν τε καλούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ Βολεούς· οἱ δὲ Βολεοὶ οὗτοι λίθων εἰσὶ σωροὶ λογάδων· χωρίον δὲ ἕτερον, ᾧ Διδύμους ὀνομάζουσι, στάδια εἴκοσιν αὐτόθεν ἀφέστηκεν. Pausan. Corinth. 36, 3.

one of five which in Homeric times divided among them the Argolic Acte, was besieged, taken, and destroyed by the Argives, nearly ten centuries before the site was visited by Pausanias; but he found there some ruins, and among them a temple of Apollo Pythaëus, with the sepulchre of Lysistratus, of Argos, who fell in the siege. The district was then annexed to the Argeia, and continued to belong to it after the general arrangement of the territorial boundaries of the free cities of Greece, in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius [1]. Nevertheless its ancient boundaries were not quite forgotten even in the time of Pausanias, from whom it appears, that to the north they were conterminous with those of Epidaurus [2].

The words of Pausanias, which place Asine next in the order of his narrative to Didymi [3], lead to the conclusion that the plain of Iri was the principal part of the territory of *Asine*, and that the city was placed on some part of the shore of that district; in favour of which opinion the remark occurs, that the plain of Iri, being the largest and most fertile in the Argolic peninsula, seems naturally to have belonged to the chief city in this part of the Gulf. On the other hand, a position in this plain cannot be said to be "near Nauplia," as Strabo describes Asine [4]. Such a definition is more suitable to Tolón, than to any other place on the coast in question. Tolón is, equally with Iri,

[1] Pausan. Corinth. 36, 5 (4). [2] Pausan. Corinth. 28, 2.

[3] Τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθέν ἐστιν Ἀργείων ἡ ποτὲ Ἀσίνη καλουμένη καὶ Ἀσίνης ἐστὶν ἐρείπια ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ. Pausan. Corinth. 36, 5 (4).

[4] Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίνης (καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ κώμη τῆς Ἀργείας πλησίον Ναυπλίας) εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν μετῳκίσθησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐστιν ὁμώνυμος τῇ Ἀργολικῇ Ἀσίνῃ πολίχνη. Strabo, p. 373.

situated on the borders of a fertile plain, and here a peninsular maritime height retains some Hellenic remains. And this position, moreover, is better adapted than that of Iri to the words of Homer regarding Asine, for it is similar to that of Hermione, being equally in a gulf formed on one side by islands; and on the other, by the main land of the Argolic Acte [1]. At Tolón, therefore, I am still inclined to place *Asine;* for although the great distance between Dhídhyma and Tolón is hardly consistent with the simple ἐντεῦθέν ἐστιν, with which Pausanias connects Didymi and Asine, his proceeding immediately from Asine to Lerna, Temenium, and Nauplia, accords on the other hand with the proximity of Tolón to those well-known places, and favours the supposition that *Asine* was near the bottom of the *Argolic* Gulf.

The French geographers, however, have not placed *Asine* either at Iri or at Tolón, but at Kándia, a village situated between them, where they found some ancient remains above the village, and at a mile's distance from it towards Iri, above some marshes adjacent to the sea shore, the ruins of a temple and of two sacella; the temple they supposed to have been that of Apollo Pythaëus [2]. The

[1] Ἑρμιόνην, Ἀσίνην τε, βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἔχούσας.
Il. β. 560.
Homer could not have intended to say that Hermione and Asine were situated in one and the same Gulf. He knew the geography of Greece too well for that; but Strabo, whose conception of the shape of the Peloponnesus was very imperfect, has so interpreted the poet, for he makes the Hermionic Gulf extend from Asine to Trœzen, both included (p. 369).

[2] Boblaye, Rech. Géogr. p. 51.

objection to Kándia for the site of *Asine* is, that it is not on the sea shore, as Pausanias states Asine to have been; and which he repeats by saying that the Messenian Asine, whither the Asinæi of Argolis migrated, after the destruction of their city by the Argives, "was situated on the sea side in the same manner as Asine in Argolis[1]." In fact, the castle of Koróni and the Paleókastro of Tolón, are precisely similar as peninsular maritime hills—a circumstance which confirms the location of the Messenian as well as of the Argolic Asine, the situation of the former having for a long time been a difficult question of comparative geography, no less than that of the latter.

Kándia and Iri appear rather to have been the districts of two of those towns of the *Argolic Acte*, unnamed in history, the former existence of which is attested by their remains. The fortress which commanded the ancient district of Kándia was on the height above that village, and that to which the territory of Iri belonged, was on the summit of a mountain which rises from the right bank of the river of Iri or Bedéni, six geographical miles in direct distance from its mouth. The latter may have been a subordinate town of the *Epidauria*, and in this manner we may explain the statement of Scylax, that a portion of the shore of the Argolic Gulf, 30 stades in length, belonged to the district of Epidaurus[2]. Iri (Εἴρη) was an ancient name occurring

[1] Κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῇ πότε ἐν μοίρᾳ τῇ Ἀργολίδι Ἀσίνη. (Messen. 34, 7.)

[2] Ἡ Ἐπίδαυρος δὲ χώρα μετὰ Ἄργος. καθήκει γὰρ εἰς τὸν

in Messenia and other parts of Greece, and is the more likely to have been the name of the town or fortress, which stood on the mountain above Avgó and Iri, as we find in Pliny, that one of the islands adjacent to this coast was named Irine[1], *i. e.* Εἰρινὴ νῆσος, the island belonging to Εἴρη. This supposition would identify *Irine* with the island now called Ypsilí.

If these conjectures have any foundation, it is probable that Spétzia is the ancient *Ephyre.* It is true there is a fourth island, Dhaskalió, which, together with Platyá and Ypsilí, may have formed the three islands of the Argolic Gulf named by Pliny; but it seems more likely that Dhaskalió, divided only as it is from the main land by a narrow strait, should have been overlooked by Pliny, or those from whom he derived his information, than the large and conspicuous island Spétzia.

Vol. ii. p. 485.

Notwithstanding the dissent of both French and German geographers, I am still disposed to place *Thyrea* at Luku. Two ancient names are still preserved on this part of the Laco-Argive coast, Tyró

κόλπον τοῦτον στάδια λ'. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐπιδαύρειαν χώραν Ἁλία καὶ λιμήν. Scyl. Perip. p. 43, Gronov.—The other places follow in their proper order, namely, Hermione, Scyllæum, Trœzen, Ægina, and μετὰ δὲ Τροιζηνίαν πόλις Ἐπίδαυρος καὶ λιμήν.

[1] In Argolico (sinu), Pityusa, Irine, Ephyre. Plin. H. N. 12 (19).

(Τυρὸς) and Astró (Ἄστρόν). Of the former place we know only that it was a town of Laconia[1]; but this fact, combined with the modern name, leaves little doubt that the Hellenic ruins found on the southern cape of the bay of Tyró, are those of *Tyrus*, and not of *Braseæ*, as the French geographers have supposed. *Braseæ*, having been adjacent to the Argive frontier, is to be placed further to the north. Indeed, there can be no question, that the Hellenic ruins at St. Andrew (Ai Andhréa), at the southern extremity of the Θυρεάτης κόλπος, or bay of Astró, are those of *Braseæ;* Ptolemy having placed the boundary of Argeia and Laconia between Astrum and Braseæ[2]; Astrum still preserving its ancient name, and the Thyreatis in the time of Pausanias and Ptolemy having been a part of the Argeia. The marsh of Mostó, which reaches from the mountains nearly to the sea, formed, as I before remarked, a natural boundary between the two districts: the whole plain, therefore, which extends from thence to the foot of Mount Závitza, belonged to the *Thyreatis;* and this agrees perfectly with Pausanias, who describes the plain of Thyrea as fertile, and fitted to the growth of olives; as occurring immediately southward of the maritime pass, anciently called Anigræa, which was at the foot of Mount Závitza, and as extending to the left to the sea, and inland to the city Thyrea[3]:

[1] Ἔστι καὶ Τύρος τῆς Λακωνικῆς. Stephanus in v., who may have been mistaken in accenting this Τύρος and the Phœnician in the same manner.

[2] Ptolem. 3, 16.

[3] . . . . Ἀπόβαθμοι . . . . ἐντεῦθεν διελθοῦσιν Ἀνιγραῖα καλουμένα ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν καὶ ἄλλως δύσβατον, ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν

all these can scarcely be made to accord with any other supposition than that of the ruins at Luku being those of *Thyrea*. *Astrum* appears to have been the maritime fortress, unnamed by Thucydides, in the building of which the Æginetæ were interrupted by the Athenians in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, and from whence they retreated into Thyrea, on being attacked by the Athenians[1]. The ancient position at Ellinikó accords equally with *Anthene*, this having been the first town, according to Pausanias, which the traveller arrived at in proceeding from *Thyrea* to *Sparta*, over Mount *Parnon*. The distance of Luku from the sea, which is treble the ten stades of Thucydides, is undoubtedly a strong objection to that place as the site of *Thyrea;* but we know that the distances in the text of Thucydides, although generally, are not always correct.

VOL. ii. p. 486.

The French map differs from my observations as to the lower course of the river of Luku, which instead of joining the sea, as I have represented it, between Astró and Ai Andhréa, a little to the northward of the discharge of the marsh of Mostó, is made in that map to flow into the sea, to the northward of the promontory of Astró, in which part of the plain I crossed only a small stream

καθήκουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ δένδρα, ἐλαίας μάλιστα, ἀγαθὴ τρέφειν γῆ· ἰόντι δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον Θυρέα χωρίον ἐστὶν, ἔνθα δὴ ἐμαχέσαντο, &c. Pausan. Corinth. 38, 4.

[1] Thucyd. 4, 57.

flowing from a marsh at the foot of Mount Závitza. I could not have been mistaken as to the course of the river of Luku through the plain, having observed it from the summits of the hills of Astró and Ai Andhréa, and having crossed it between Astró and the Kaly'via of Ai Ianni. Nor can I doubt the accuracy of the French Surveyors. I conclude, therefore, that the river of Luku since my visit to the *Thyreatis*, has been turned into the northern bay, for the sake of saving the fertile plain below the Kaly'via of Ai Ianni and Meligú, from the occasional ravages of this torrent in the winter. In fact, Mr. Boblaye remarks, "Au sud (d'Astrós) on voit *l'ancien lit* du torrent, qui se jette aujourd'hui au nord du rocher [1]."

VOL. ii. p. 492.

On the road from Luku across Mount Závitza to *Lerna* and Argos, are two Hellenic sites with ruins; they occur between Luku and the plain of Kivéri: one on the ascent of the mountain from Luku, which appears to have been a mere fortress, the other in the valley of the river of Kivéri, about two-thirds of the distance from Andrítzena to Kivéri. These two ancient positions mark the direction of the ancient route from Thyrea to Argos, and traces of the road itself were observed by the French Commission. M. Boblaye remarks, "Les rochers ont été taillés en plusieurs endroits, et au sommet de la

[1] P. 68.

montée on trouve un petit plateau artificiel[1];" the platform perhaps of a temple. The route from *Argos* to *Sparta* by *Thyrea* coincided, or very nearly so, with the modern road by Luku, Ai Ianni, and Aios Petros, passing at the foot of the hill of *Anthene*, now Ellinikó, leaving a little on the left the remains of *Neris* at Oriás-to-Kastro, near Xerokambí, and entering the ancient *Caryatis*, near Arákhova. Between Aios Petros, therefore, and Arákhova, the French geographers seem to have justly supposed the *Hermæ*, which marked the junction of the *Tegeatic*, *Laconic*, and *Argive* boundaries to have stood; for under the Roman emperors Cynuria belonged to the Argeia, and the Caryatis to Laconia. At about two miles to the south of Aios Petros, the French Surveyors discovered some tumuli, on the ridge which separates the waters of the river of Luku, of the Saranda, and of the Kelefína[2]; or in other words of the *Tanus*, the *Alpheius*, and the *Œnus*, of which the first flows to the eastern coast of the *Peloponnesus*, the second to the western, and the third to the southern. Near this place probably were the *Hermæ*, and from thence, therefore, we are to endeavour to trace the continuation of the road from Argos to Sparta, which led through *Sellasia*, leaving *Caryæ* on the right.

VOL. ii. p. 496, (line 15 et seq.)

These topographical remarks, resting only upon oral information, could not pretend to be anything

[1] Recherches Géogr. sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 66.

[2] Ibid. p. 67.

better than an approximation. I now learn from the French map, that Fakhinó or Fokianó, instead of two is four or five hours below Kunúpia, and that Fokianó and Kyparíssia do not form equal intervals between Lenídhi and Porto Iéraka; the distance between Kyparíssia and Iéraka being much greater than the others. Instead of there being neither plain nor harbour at Lenídhi there are both, though the latter is not good, and is situated three miles to the south-east of the village of Lenídhi.

Dyrós or Tyrós, though accented differently, is doubtless the ancient Τύρος τῆς Λακωνικῆς mentioned by Stephanus. Considerable remains of the ancient town are found on the southern cape of the bay of Tyró; from whence, in times of insecurity, the people may have migrated to the present village, which is situated at the inner extremity of the plain two miles from the shore. The village of Lenídhi is similarly situated relatively to the ancient site, of which it possesses the territory.

Mr. Finlay visited Lenídhi and Tyró in the year 1829. He thus describes them: "Lenídhi contains about 600 houses, which are good and large, and is situated in a rich narrow valley about ¾ hour from the sea-shore: it has no port, but there is a custom-house at a bad landing-place to which boats resort in summer. There is a large torrent-bed, over which is a bridge of three arches with remains of two other arches which the torrent has washed away: there is water in this torrent only after the rains. Lenídhi was not destroyed by the Arabs[1], who never reached it. At the Dogana there is a rocky mountain which

[1] The Egyptian troops of Ibrahim Pasha.

approaches the shore: at its base are remains of an ancient building converted into a church, now also in ruins, and called A'ghios Leonídhas. Above this are considerable remains of an ancient city. Numerous terraces may be traced, and four courses of masonry are in some places to be seen in the wall towards Lenídhi. The site is excessively rugged. On a peak there is a square tower of rude Cyclopian masonry, in which some of the stones seem to have been roughly formed to fit the others. The largest stone is 7 feet 10 inches by 3 feet. High above this are considerable remains of a modern fortress: ruins of several houses and churches and of the walls yet remain. Some foundations seem to indicate the site of an ancient tower or temple, but the fortress appears to be of the middle ages, repaired by the Venetians. It is called Aghios Athanásios."

From Lenídhi Mr. Finlay proceeded by the villages of Melanó and Katíforo to the bay of Tyró: "24 minutes below Katíforo are the ruins of a church, and on the right a hill advancing towards the sea and forming a promontory, on which are remains of a considerable fortress. The walls of the Acropolis are in good preservation: two or three hundred feet of wall, looking towards the Gulf of Argos, is still from six to ten feet high, with three towers. The masonry is of the polygonal style, but the stones are not very large. Various foundations may be observed both within and without the walls: 30 minutes across the plain is the village of Tyró."

Pausanias names no more than two towns of the Eleuthero-lacones on the coast between *Epidaurus Limera*, now Paleá Monemvasía, and *Braseæ*, now Ai Andhrea; namely, Zarax and Cyphanta. There

can be no doubt that *Zarax* was at Porto Iéraka; and assuming that the ruins at Tyró are sufficiently identified by the modern name, there remains only one intermediate place, namely, the port of Lenídhi, where exist vestiges of a Hellenic city, such as will justify us in identifying it with Cyphanta, which, from the notice of it taken by Polybius, Pliny, and Ptolemy, as well as Pausanias, seems evidently to have been once the principal town on this part of the Laconic coast, although it was a ruin in the time of Pausanias. The fortress of St. Athanasius, which is situated on a height above the port of Lenídhi, at the direct distance of two geographical miles to the south-east of that village, is exactly ten stades inland from the port: to this position, therefore, it is probable that Pausanias alludes, in stating the distance of Cyphanta from the sea; although other Hellenic remains are observable below this summit towards the Dogana, and others, belonging probably to some dependent κώμη of Cyphanta towards the southern extremity of the bay of Lenídhi.

I must admit that the distance of Cyphanta from Braseæ, as given by Pausanias, namely, 200 stades, will not agree very correctly with the assumed position of *Cyphanta*, near Lenídhi, the real distance between the two places being no more than 16 geographical miles, or 160 stades: but the computations of long distances made by Pausanias, in round numbers, are generally found to be in excess. Thus the distance between Geronthræ and Marius stated by him at 100 stades, is no more than 60 in a direct line. As to the interval which his text gives between Cyphanta and Zarax, namely six stades, it

is obviously quite erroneous, such a proximity of two cities in a country of small resources, and in which they were generally far apart, being quite inconceivable. The direct distance between Lenídhi and Iéraka is 22 geographical miles, or 220 stades.

Vol. ii. p. 498.

I have here identified the river Kani with the *Tanus;* but the following considerations now induce me to believe that the *Tanus* was the river upon the right bank of which Luku is situated. Pausanias describes the Tanus as the only river, which descending from Mount Parnon, flows through the Argeia to the Thyreatic gulf[1]; by the Argeia, meaning the Cynuria, which in his time formed a part of the Argive territory[2]. It is true that the Kani has its origin in Mount *Parnon*, not less than the Luku, and that all the eastern side of *Parnon* was in *Cynuria;* but then if the ruins at Ai Andhréa be those of *Brasea*, an Eleuthero-Laconic city, and if the boundary between its territory and that of *Thyrea* was at the marsh of Mostó[3], it is evident that none but the higher tributaries of the Kani

[1] Ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κώμας (Cynuriæ, sc.) ὄρος Πάρνων, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀργείους ὅροι καὶ Τεγεάτας εἰσίν· ἐστήκασι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις Ἑρμαῖ λίθου· καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Ποταμὸς δὲ καλούμενος Τάνος· εἰς γὰρ δὴ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ Πάρνωνος κάτεισι ῥέων διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς τὸν Θυρεάτην κόλπον. Corinth. 38, 7.

[2] ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Θυρεᾶτιν ἐνέμοντο Ἀργεῖοι. Corinth. 38, 5.

[3] Travels in Morea, ii. p. 484.

were in *Cynuria*, and that after the union of its branches, its course was through *Laconia*. Nor does it rise near the *Hermæ of the triple frontier*, which stood, as already hinted, between St. Peter's and Arákhova, but on the eastern side of Mount *Parnon*. On the other hand, supposing the river of Luku to have been the *Tanus*, Luku to have been *Thyrea*, and the Argive territory intended by Pausanias to have been Cynuria, of which the Thyreatis was the most important part, his description of the course of the Tanus was correct and appropriate. The only author who mentions the Tanus besides Pausanias is Euripides, according to whom the τρόφος of the father of Electra fed his flocks on the banks of the Tanus, which divided the Argeian from the Spartiatic land[1]. In this description of the *Tanus*, Euripides probably applied the circumstances of his own times to his fable, without regard to consistency, as dramatists often do: for although, in his time, the Cynurii were subject to the Lacedæmonians, and the river may have afforded a convenient boundary between Argolis and Laconia, they were independent and allied with Argos at the time to which the tragedy refers: and it was this ancient condition of the district that furnished the Roman emperors with a reason for annexing Cynuria to Argos.

[1] Ἦλθ' ὡς παλαιὸν τρόφον ἐμοῦ φίλου πατρός,
Ὃς ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Τανὸν Ἀργείας ὅρους
Τέμνοντα γαίας Σπαρτιάτιδός τε γῆς,
Ποίμναις ὁμαρτεῖ πόλεως ἐκβεβλημένος.
Eurip. Elect. v. 409.

Vol. ii. p. 505.

ON THE TZAKONIC DIALECT.

Mr. Finlay informs me that he found the Tzakonic dialect spoken at Kunúpia, a village of fifty houses, situated about ten miles to the south of Lenídhi, and that this is the southernmost limit of the dialect. Possibly my informants on the Tzakonic dialect, when they named Prastó as the southern limit, intended to include Kunúpia as well as some smaller villages which lie between it and Prastó, among the dependencies of the latter. The extent of Tzakoniá will thus be about twenty-five miles in length, and twelve in breadth. The most curious among the numerous monasteries of this district, according to Mr. Finlay, who twice visited it, is Zinka, or St. Nicolas, built "like Magaspílio, near Kalávryta, in a great cavern, but more completely covered by the advancing rock." Zinka stands in the ravine of the river of Lenídhi, about three miles above that town.

My short notes on the Tzakonic dialect were derived in the course of a single evening, from a Bishop and a Proestós, neither of whom, from their station in life, were likely to employ, very frequently, this rustic speech, nor was their scholarship such as qualified them to point out the exact peculiarities which distinguish it from the common Romaic. We are under great obligations, therefore, to Dr. Frederick Thiersch, of Munich, who, during his residence in Greece, bestowed great

attention on this inquiry; and who, not satisfied with the information to be obtained from the educated class in the towns of this part of Greece, resorted to the shepherds and cultivators of Kastánitza, Sítena, and Korakovúni[1]. Having thus collected the sounds of the dialect, and written them in Romaic, he examined its grammatical rules and its other peculiarities; and on the 3rd November, 1832, communicated the result of his inquiries to the first class of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, in whose Transactions the dissertation was published. As a supplement, therefore, to my own slender remarks on the Tzakonic, or rather as entirely superseding them, I here subjoin an extract of the more important part of M. Thiersch's paper, which is entitled "Ueber die Sprache der Zaconen," (4to, 68 pp.[2]) but must refer to the original for the greater part of the author's ingenious speculations on this curious subject.

[1] But even these places, it seems, have differences of dialect among themselves. Thus, the people of Kastánitza and Sítena pronounce the λ *in* Νικόλαο, θέλου, νὰ λάβωμεν; those of Prastó elide it, Νικόα, Θέου, νὰ ἄβωμε. The former pronounce the θ of the aorist subj. like τ, ἐὰν ματοῦ, ἐὰν ὁρατοῦ: the Prastiotes ἐὰν ναθοῦ, ἐὰν ὁραθοῦ. The former employ for *father* ζούρι (κύριος), and for *mother*, the Sclavonic *mati*, neither of which words is in use among the Prastiotes.—Ueber die Sprache der Zaconen, p. 572.

[2] It has been carefully translated for me *in extenso* by Mr. Walter Kelly.

§ 1. *Of the Vowels.*

1. The following employments of vowels are characteristic of the Tzakonic:

A the Doric, *e. g.* ἀ instead of ἡ: ἀ χώρα *the village*, 'ς τὰν χώραν *in the village*, σάμερε, ἐτάκατε, σήμερον, ἐστήκατε, ἀ φωνὰ, ἀ ψιούχα ψυχή, ἀ γνώνη γνώμη, and the like.

E for Υ in δενούμενε δυνάμενος.

I for Ε, κρίε κρέας, ἐννία ἐννέα, (compare the Laconic ὑμνίωμες, Arist. Lysistr. 1305, for ὑμνέωμεν,) and contrariwise ἑκάνου ἑκάνω.

ΟΥ for Υ, παραθούρα, τρούπα, γουναῖκα, κοῦα κύων, (compare the Homeric εἰλήλουθα for εἰλήλυθα,) and with ι preceding the sound when it occurs immediately before or after several consonants: νιοῦτα νύκτα, κτιουποῦ κτυπῶ, ψιούχα ψυχή.

ΟΥ for Ο and Ω, στοῦμα στόμα, (compare the Latin *nummus* and *numerus* with νόμος,) στροῦμα στρῶμα, γράφου γράφω, but not οὔνο for ὄνο, *i. e.* ὄνος. Compare νοῦσος and πόνος (not ποῦνος) in Homer, and where Ο was used instead of Ε, *e. g.* ἀ ζουφάλα, κεφαλή, and ἀ ζουφά; compare *Kopf* (German).

The omission of the initial Ο, as νύχα ὄνυχα, which is not to be regarded as a corruption but as original, as appears on comparing ὄνυξ with νύσσω.

§ 2. *Of the Consonants.*

With respect to the consonants, we have to notice the thickening of the sibilant sounds, their encroachment on the range of the letter Ρ, and the interchange, softening, and elision of individual sounds.

1. The thickening of Σ and Τ into sibilants:

a) of Σ into ΣΧ, πᾶσχα πᾶσα, πόσχι πόσις.

b) of Θ into ΘΣΧ, ἔνθσχε ἔνθεν; and of Τ into ΤΣΧ, *e. g.* τσχὶ τί. Compare the ancient Laconic 'Ασαναίους, 'Ασάνα, ἤνσει, παρσένε, σηροκτόνε, *i. e.*

'Αθηναίους, 'Αθήνη, ἤνθει, παρθένε, θηροκτόνε, ἀγαθοὺς, in Aristoph. Lysistr. 1300 seq.

2. The *encroachment* of these sounds on the range of others, and in consequence,

a) the use of

Z for Π, ζοιᾶς ποίας; *e. g.* ἀπὸ ζοιᾶς παρίου *whence comest thou?* νὰ ζᾶμεν, the modern Greek νὰ πᾶμεν (ὑπάγωμεν).

for B, φοζούμενε φοβούμενος.

for K, before E, I, OY; γουναῖκα pl. γουναῖζε and γουναῖζι, ὡρᾶκα 2nd pers. ὡράζερε, ζέ for καί, anciently κέ and originally κί, ζουφά κεφάλη, ζοῦρε (from ζούριε) κύριος.

for Γ, νὰ φύζουμεν, modern Greek νὰ φύγωμεν.

for Θ, ζεῖος θεῖος *an uncle.* (Ital. *il zio.*)

b) the use of

ΣX for P after T, Δ, Θ: τσχῖ τσχία τρεῖς τρία, βότσχυ βότρυς, βότσχε βότρυες, dimin. βότσχια, δσχοῦε δρύες, ἄθσχοιπο (for ἄθσχουπο) ἄνθρωπος, τσχίχα τρίχα.

3. The *exchange* of letters partly softening the forms: the letters exchanged are,

K for Π, κεινοῦ πεινῶ and κίνου πίνω, κιάνω modern Greek πιάνω *I seize,* ὑκοῖα ὁποῖα for ὅπου *where.*

for N, θυμούκου θυμόνω, where both K and N are what the German grammarians call Umlaute, (K as in the word *Græci* compared with Γραιοί,) ὑποχρεούχου modern Greek ὑποχρεόνω.

for T, κιμοῦ τιμῶ, χαιρεκίζου χαιρετίζω.

T for K, ἔτεινου ἐκείνου, δάττυλο δάκτυλος, which is to be considered as a softening of the KT.

P for Λ, γροῦσσα γλῶσσα, κρέφου κλέπτω (κλέφω), the primitive form of the verb having remained in use.

4. The *elision* of letters, viz., of Β, Δ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Σ, between vowels: Β in προύατα πρόβατα, Δ in ποῦα πόδα, δίου δίδω i. e. δίδωμι, Λ in θέου θέλω, Νικόα Νικόλαος, χεῖα χείλεα, θᾶσσα (i. e. θάασσα) θάλασσα, ζέα i. e. ζέλλα (cella), Μ in τσχέου τρέμω, Ν in κοῦε κύνες, Σ in ἀγαποῦα ἀγαποῦσα, διδοῦα διδοῦσα. Compare (Aristoph. Lysistr. 1247 et seq.) the ancient Laconic ὄρμαον for ὄρμησον, κλέωα κλέουσα, θυρσαδδωᾶν καὶ παιδδωᾶν θυρσαζουσάων καὶ παιζουσάων, likewise ἐκλιπῶα ἐκλιποῦσα, Μῶα Μοῦσα, which in Tzakonic is ἐκλιποῦα Μοῦα. Σ is elided in τοῦμα στόμα, ἐτάκατε ἐστήκατε, and at the end of cases and of persons of verbs, τοὺ νόμου τοὺς νόμους, ποῦε πόδες, γράψομε, ὡράκομε γράψομες, ὡράκαμες. Compare ἄμμε and ὔμμε in Epic for ἄμμες ὔμμες.

5. The *softening* of the sound by the *omission* of Κ, νιοῦτα νύκτα,—by *changing*, where ρ occurs twice, the first ῥ into γ, ἀγοῦρα ἄρουρα,—by omitting ν before θ in ἀθρῶπο ἄνθρωπος,—Σ in ζῖα σκιά, where Κ has also become Ζ,—by *transposition* and *conversion* of the tenuis into the media in ἀβράγου ἀρπάζω. We have likewise the elision of the paragogic *syllables* in τὸ γά for γάλα, ζουφά for ζουφάλα κεφαλή, τσχοῦ (not τσχούγου) τρώγω, and of the first syllable: ὄντα i. e. ὀδόντα for ὀδών, likewise of the termination κα of the perfect *when preceded by* α, ἀβρᾶ for ἀβρᾶκα from ἀβράγου. Compare the Epic δῶ for δῶμα, κρῖ for κριθή, the former occurring even in the plural, χρύσεα δῶ, Hes. E. 933; ἄλφι for ἄλφιτα, Hymn Δ. 209; γλαφύ for γλαφυρόν, Hes. E. 503.

§ 3. *Declensions.*

1. In the terminations of words we remark,

a) in the first declension the antique Α for ΗΣ, προ-

φῆρα, πολίτα for προφήρης, πολίτης, like the epic ἱππότα, ἱππηλάτα, ἀκακῆτα, ἠπύτα, which the rhythm, and νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς which usage and euphony preserved from the changes of a later period; also like the Latin *poeta, propheta.*

2. In the second declension the open O or E takes the place of ος, *e. g.* ὁ νόμο, ὁ ὄνο, σοφό, κακό, but ὁ χορέ instead of ὁ χορός, ὁ ἐχθρέ, ὁ οὐρανέ, not καλέ, σοφέ, these being vocatives of this form, but again ὁ ἥλιε, a diversity very deserving of attention.

3. The third declension presents in the nominative either the full form of the more late genitive ὁ μηνός for ὁ μήν, which manifestly originated in the expansion of the nominative by the insertion of ο into ὁ μηνς; or the nominative has the usual form of the accusative ἁ χέρα, ὁ ποῦα, *i. e.* ὁ πόδα, ἁ γουναῖκα, ἁ νιοῦτα *i. e.* ἡ νύκτα, a peculiarity which this language possesses in common with modern Greek. Besides, there are undeveloped terminations in κρίε κρέας, κοῦε κύων.

§ 4. *The formation of the Plural.*

In the formation of the plural the Tzakonic language follows in part the common mode, *e. g.* ἁ χώρα, pl. αἱ χῶραι, πολῖτα πολῖται, νόμο νόμοι, ἀθσχοῖπο ἀθσχοῖποι; in part it has E instead of ΕΣ, ποῦα ποῦε, χέρα χέρε, ἁ γουναῖκα, αἱ γουναῖζε, or I, ὁ μηνός, pl. οἱ μήνι, perhaps from μήνιε.

1. The same simplicity prevails in the formation of cases: χώρα and πολῖτα are indeclinable, except as to the acc. τὰν χώραν, τὸν πολίταν, where, however, the ν is sounded very faintly, except in the article τόν: the same is the case in the plural; αἱ χῶραι and οἱ πολῖται are wholly indeclinable.

2. The second declension is more developed:

Sing.	N. ὁ νόμο	Pl.	N. οἱ νόμοι
	G. τοῦ νόμου		G. τοῦ νόμου
	D. τῷ νόμῳ		D. . . . .
	A. τὸ νόμο		A. τοὺ νόμου

Σ and N, however, are cut off, as we see, and the dative plural is wanting.

3. Third declension. Forms of ὁ μηνός and ἁ γουναῖκα:

Sing.	N. ὁ μηνός	Pl.	N. οἱ μήνι
	G. τοῦ μηνέ		G. τοῦ μηνέ
	D. τῷ μηνί		D. . . . .
	A. τὸν μῆνα		A. τοὺ μηνέ

Sing.	N. ἁ γουναῖκα	Pl.	N. αἱ γουναῖζε
	G. τᾶ γουναῖζε		G. τοῦ γουναῖζε
	D. τᾷ γουναῖζι		D. . . . .
	A. τὰν γουναῖκα		A. τοὺ γουναῖζε

4. We see that ε in both forms appears as the characteristic vowel, in the sing. of the gen. case, in the plur. of both gen. and acc., and that ι is the characteristic vowel of the dative. But there are not wanting instances of genitives in ο, *e. g.* τὸ ἄσχι *the star*, gen. τοῦ ἄσχιο. The appearance of οἱ μήνι instead of οἱ μήνιε from ὁ μηνός points to an analogy evident also in ἄσχι (§ 5). The article in τοὺ γουναῖζε not τὰ (for τὰς) γουναῖζε is not a solitary instance of this use of the masculine form; the expressions οἱ γουναῖζε, οἱ χῶραι are also allowable. The presence of the dative, which is discoverable in the singular at least, is deserving of note, since every trace of that case has utterly disappeared from modern Greek.

5. For the comparison of adjectives there is only the comparative in -τερε: κακό κακούτερε, but καλέ καλήτερε; κουβᾶνο, *black*, κουβανούτερε; ἀδσχέ, *big*, ἀδσχίτερε.

§ 5. *Lexicology.*

1. The vocables are often in accordance with modern Greek, but more frequently they coincide with the orthography of ancient Greek, and even exhibit forms which have totally disappeared from common use, and analogies pointing far beyond the range of all written Greek. The number of words too is not inconsiderable, the roots of

which are not to be found in Greek, but are met with, not wholly but in part, in its kindred tongues. Of this the following lists will afford proofs:

2. A.

Ἀβουτᾶνα, plur. *ἀβουτᾶνε τὰ οὔατα*, Hom. Ἀγοῦρα *ἄρουρα*. Ἀδσχέ, *big*, identical doubtless with *ἀδρός*, *thick, grown out*. Ἀθσχοῖπο, *ἄνθρωπος*, *man* (vir), *ἀθρῶπο*, *man* (homo), *e. g. τσχί ἀθρῶποι ἴννι τάσου*; *ἀθσχοῖποι, ἢ γουναῖζε*; *what sort of people are within? men, or women?* Ἄϊ with elision of ἀ and Δ for λάδι, modern Greek, *i. e.* ἐλάδιον for ἐλαΐδιον, dimin. of ἔλαιον. Αἰψηλό *quick*, compare the Homeric *αἶψα*, and with a view to the analogy *ὑψηλός* from *ὕψι*. Τἀργά *τὰ ἀργά late*. Ἀρουγχα *ἡ λάρυγξ*. Ἄριστο *τὸ ἄριστον the meal of noon*. Ἄσχι gen. *τοῦ ἄσχιο*, dat. *τῷ ἄσχι*, plur. *τὰ ἄσχα ἄστρα*: passing into the second declension *τοῦ ἄσχου* and *τῷ ἄσχου*.

3. E, I, O, Υ.

Ἀπάνου *ἀπάνω*, ἔνθσχε *ἔνθεν*, ἐπαίζου, *παίζου* ἐπαΐσσω, *e. g. παΐζ ὁ ἥλιε the sun rises*. Ἐπέρυ *ἐχθές*. Compare *πέρυσι* and likewise *τατσιπέρυ* (*τὰ ἀπὸ ἐπέρυ*) *προχθές*. Ἔριφο *ἔριφος*, Ἴδρουτα *ἴδρως*, plur. *ἴδρουτε*. Ὄνο *ὄνος*—*ὄντα* (*ὀδόντα*) *ὀδών*, gen. *τοῦ ὄντα*, plur. *οἱ ὄντε*, *τοῦ ὄντε*, and with an enthetic P, *τοὐρόντε* (*i. e. τοῦ-ρ-ὄντε*) *τῶν ὀδόντων*.—*ὔο water*: compare *ὕο. τὸ ὕον*.

4. Π, Β, Φ.

Πᾶσχε, *πᾶσχα*, *πάσχου*, *πᾶς*, *πᾶσα*, *πᾶν*.—*πέτσχα πέτρα*. Πόρε *πόρος* (thoroughfare) *door*. Πότσχι *πόσις*. Ποῦα *ποῦς*, *τοῦ ποῦα*, *τῷ ποῦα*, *τὸ ποῦα*, plur. *οἱ ποῦε*, *τοῦ ποῦε*, acc. *τοὺ ποῦε*. Προύατα *πρόβατα*. Βότσχε *βότρυς*, *τοῦ βότσχε*, plur. *οἱ βότσχοι*, gen. *τοῦ βότσχου*.—ὁ βοῦ ὁ βοῦς, *τοῦ βοῦ*, *τῷ βοῦ*, plur. *οἱ βοῦε*, *τοῦ βοῦε*. ὁ βρέχο (*i. e.* ὁ βρέχος) ἡ βροχή. Βυζία, also modern Greek, *μαστοί*, from *βύω*, *βύζω I fill*.

5. K, Γ, X.

Κάψα *heat*, from κάω, and from the same root ἁ κάρα *fire*. Κοῦε κύων. Γά γάλα. Γῖδι *i. e.* γίδιον, modern Greek for αἰγιδίον from αἴξ. Τὸ γοῦνα *the knee*, τοῦ γοῦνα, plur. τὰ γοῦνε and τὰ γούνατα, gen. τοῦ γοῦνε. Χάζι (quasi χάζιον, dimin. with elision of λα) χάλαζα.

6. T, Δ, Θ, Z, Σ.

Τᾶνο τῆνος for ἐκεῖνος. Τάνου in ἀπὸ τάνου *from there*. Τάχα in τὰ σύνταχα, *i. e.* πρωΐ and ταχία for ταχέα. Δενούμενε δυνάμενος, δίου δίδωμι, θᾶσσα θάλασσα. Θύου θύω *I slay*. Θεουροῦ θεωρῶ, θοῦρα and παραθοῦρα modern Gr. παραθύριον *the window*. Τσχῖχα θρίξ, plur. αἱ τσῖχε. Ζεῖε ὁ θεῖος. Ζία σκιά. Σανεῖα σανίδες. Ζοῦρη *father*, properly *lord, master*, ζούριος, or rather ζούριε, *i. e.* κύριος.

7. Now whereas the foregoing words, however widely they may differ from their primitive type, may be traced, by no ambiguous analogies, to Greek roots, no indication of the following is to be discovered, at least with any certainty, in the Hellenic language.

8. A, O.

Ἀθὶ ἀδελφός, ἀθυιά ἀδελφή. Ἄνθε ἄρτος. Ἄτζι *salt* (perhaps ἅλς). Ἄρτυμα *cheese*. Ὄγχυμα *a garment* (perhaps ἔνδυμα), ἔταρα *now* (perhaps ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ). Ὀμηρήκου εὑρίσκω (perhaps ὁμηρέω, Hom. *to come in contact with one, to find him*). Ὀγὶ *hither*. Ὄννι *not*. Compare *non* and ὄχι, modern Greek.

9. Π, Β, Φ, Ψ.

Πόρεσχε *now*. Βουλὲ ἀλέκτωρ, perhaps ποῦλος from the modern Greek πουλί *a bird*, as ὄρνις too in ancient Greek stands for the common domestic fowl. Φοῦκα *the lower belly*. Φθοῦ *I roast*, φθατέ modern Greek ψητόν.

10. K, T, Θ, Σ.

Κάμσχι *a boy.* Κάλη *wood,* perhaps from κάω. Κεῖσι κριθόν. Κουβᾶνο *black,* plur. οἱ κουβᾶνοι, τὰ κουβᾶνα. Θσχοῦκο *the nose:* the analogy, however, of this word to θρόνος is not to be doubted. Σχάθη θυγάτηρ. Σχοῖνο *a mountain.*

11. N, P.

Νάκου ἀποθνήσκω. Compare the modern Greek πεθάνω. Ῥόκκα *a rock* or *distaff.*

§ 6. *Pronouns.*

		I	*thou*	*he*
Sing.	N.	ἐσού	ἐκιού	. .
	G.	μί	τί	σί
	D.	μί	νί	νί
	A.	ἐνίου	κίου	σί
Pl.	N.	ἐνύ and ἐμύ	ἐμού	. .
	G.	νάμου	νιούμου	σού
	D.	νάμου	νιούμου	σού
	A.	ἐμούνανε	ἐμού	. . .

Ἐκεῖνος.

		M.	F.	N.
Sing.	N.	ἔτεινερι	ἔτειναϊ	ἔκεινι
	G.	ἔτεινου	ἔτειναρι	ἔτινου
	D.	. . .	. . .	. . .
	A.	ἔτεινενι	ἔτειναvι	ἔκεινι
Pl.	N.	ἔτεινονι	ἔτεινεϊ	ἔτειναϊ
	G.	. . .	. . .	. . .
	D.	. . .	. . .	. . .
	A.	ἔτεινου	. .	. . .

Οὗτος.

		M.	F.	N.
Sing.	N.	ἔντερι	ἔνταϊ	ἔγγι
	G.	ἔντου	ἔνταρι	ἔντου
	D.	. . .	. . .	. . .
	A.	ἔντενι	ἔντανι	ἔγγι
Pl.	N.	ἔντεϊ	ἔντεϊ	. . .
	G.	. . .	. . .	. . .
	D.	. . .	. . .	. . .
	A.	ἔντου	. . .	. . .

3. Τίς and τί are τζί and τσές, *e. g.* τσές ποίου; *what art thou doing?* and by coalition τσχεμποῖκα for τσχές ἐποῖκα; *what have I done?* διὰ τσεμποίζερένι, *i. e.* διὰ τί ἐποίησας αὐτό; *why have you done this?* ποῖος is ποῖε, ποία: ὅπου is ὁκοῖα. For ὅς, ἥ are substituted ὅπουε, ὅπουα, analogous to ὁποῖος, ὁποία, but the place of ὁποῖον is supplied by the demonstrative ἔτεινερι, *e. g.* ἔτεινερι ἄθσχοιπο, ἔτεινου τὸ κάμσχι νιενερίζου (*i. e.* γνωρίζω), *that man whose son* (properly, *of that man the son*) or *boy I know.*

§ 7. *Numerals.*

ἕνα εἷς, νιὰ μία, δοῦε δύω, τσχί τρεῖς, τσχία τρία, τέσσερε τέσσαρες . . . . . ἐννία ἐννέα.

§ 8. *The substantive verb* εἰμί.

Present.

Sing.	ἔνι	ἔσι	ἔννι
Pl.	ἔμμε	ἔτε	ἴννι

Past.

Sing.	ἔμα	ἔσα	ἔκι
Pl.	ἔμμαϊ	ἔταϊ	ἴγκιαϊ

§ 9. *Inflection of Verbs.*

1. The augment occurs only in the perfect, and is used without reduplication, *e. g.* ἐγαμῆκα; but it thickens Π into ΜΠ, *e. g.* ἐμποΐκα *I have made*, and Κ into ΓΧ in κίνου (πίνω) ἐγχΐκα (ἔπια). On the other hand, κεινοῦ (πεινῶ from πεινάω) makes ἐκεινᾶκα.

2. The present and imperfect are formed in a peculiar manner by coupling the *stem* developed into a noun,—*e. g.* γράφ, masc. γράφου, fem. γράφα,—with the substantive verb ἔνι, the copulative P being interposed: pres. γραφουρένι and γραφαρένι, imperf. γραφουρέμα and γραφαρέμα, but ρ disappears after α, γραφαένι and γραφαέμα. The substantive verb also precedes, pres. ἔνι γράφοὐ and ἔνι γράφα, imp. ἔμα γράφου and ἔμα γράφα, and disappears entirely where the context indicates the person.

3. The future is wanting, and is supplied by means of the auxiliary θέου (θέλω), ἔνι θέου, or θεουρένι γράφει, or θέου γράφει, or by means of θά and the conj. aor. as in modern Greek. The aorist follows the Greek analogy, but without augment γράψα, ποΐζα from ποίησα formed by compression; and when ου is a contracted syllable it is carried over to the aorist γαμοῦ (from γαμέω) γαμοῦσα.

4. In verbs ending purely, the perfect active is in κα, as in common Greek, but, as before remarked, without reduplication: ἐγαμῆκα, ἀγαπῆκα, ἐκτιουπῆκα, ὡρᾶκα. So also the liquid verbs δείρω ἐδάρκα, σκοτούνου ἐσκοτοῦκα. But the pure stem invariably appears in this inflection, ἀφίνου perf. ἀφῖκα, μαθαίκου ἐμαθῆκα, ζοῦ (ζῶ) ἐζῆκα, δίου (δίδωμι) ἐδοῦκα, κιάνου (mod. Gr. πιάνω *I grasp*), ἐκιᾶπα, δαΐζου (δαίω) *I burn*, ἐδᾶκα, μπενάκου (ἀποθνήσκω) ἐπενᾶκα. There is the sound of ν before κ in the form ἁμαρτάγκα from ἁμαρτάγου, and ἐφύγκα, where it is evident that the law of euphony alone prevails, ἐφύγκα for ἐφῦγα, as in ἐνέκω ἐνέγκω.

5. The verba muta only soften their sounds, *γράφου ἐγράβα, κρέφου (κλέπτω) ἐκρέβα.* Those in ζ have the perfect without consonant, *χαιρεκίζου*, aor. *χαιρεκίσα*, perf. *ἐχαιρεκῖα, νιουνερίου (γνωρίζω) νιουνερῖα.* If there is an A in the last syllable of the stem, the termination is cut off: *ἀβράγου (ἁρπάζω)*, perf. *ἀβρᾶ* for *ἀβρᾶγα, βαστάζου*, perf. *ἐβαστᾶ* instead of *ἐβαστᾶγα.*

6. The pluperfect is periphrastic, and formed by means of the auxiliary *εἶχα I had, εἶχα γραφτέ, εἶχα ὁρατέ.*

7. The pres. and imperf. passive are analogous to the same tenses in the active, being in like manner based on the stem developed into a noun: *γραφούμενε* and *γραφούμενα*: pres. *γραφουμενερένι* and *γραφουμεναρένι*, or *γραφουμεναένι* and *ἔνι γραφούμενε* and *ἔνι γραφούμενα.* In the same way the imp. is formed with *ἔμα.*

8. The future is formed by periphrasis, *θέου νὰ ἔνι ἀγαπητέ I shall or will be loved.* I have not been able to discover any distinct traces of the aor. ind. pass.

9. The perf. is also fully developed in the passive where it subjoins *μα* to the stem:

ὡρᾶκα	*ὡρᾶμα*
ἐμποῖκα	*ἐμποῖμα*
ἐκλεῖκα	*ἐκλεῖμα*
ἐδάρκα	*ἐδάρμα*

In like manner *θυμούκου ἐθυμοῦκα ἐθυμοῦμα, στρούνου* (mod. Gr. *στρώνω*) *ἐστροῦμα*, Z reverting into B, *φοζοῦ*, *i. e. φοβάω ἐφοβᾶμα*, or with elision of Z, *βαστάζου ἐβαστᾶμα.* The muta, too, appear with simple MA, *γράφου (γράφω) ἐγράμα, κρέφου (κλέπτω) ἐκρέμα*: *ἐγράμμα* and *ἐκρέμμα* would have been as incompatible as *ἔμμι* with the predominant disposition of the language to attenuate. The pluperf. is made with a periphrasis, *ἔμα γραφτέ scriptus eram*, and likewise supplies the place of the aor. in the indicative.

10. As regards inflection of moods,—besides the indicative, the subjunctive of the aor. act. and pass. may be traced: *ἀγαποῦ* (from *ἀγαπάου*), aor. *ἀγαπῆσα*, subj. *νὰ ἀγαπήσου*,

and without σ, *νὰ ἀγαπήου*. So likewise *νὰ γράψου*, *χαιρετίζου*, *νὰ χαιρετίσου*, and 2. aor. (*δείρω*) *νὰ δάρου*. Then in the pass. *νὰ ἀγαπηθοῦ*, *νὰ κτιουπηθοῦ*, and from *δέρνου* (*δείρω* stem *δαρ*) *νὰ δαρθοῦ*. Thus also *ποιηθοῦ*, *ὁραθοῦ*, etc.

11. Of the optative there is no trace, and the imperative is supplied by *νά*. The infinitive appears only in the periphrastic conjugation of the future, *θέου γράφει*.

12. The participles exist in the present: *γράφου γράφα*, plur. *γράφουντε*, there being no *γράφουσαι* or *γράφουα*: pass. *γραφούμενε* and *γραφούμενα*; in the perf. *γραμμένε* and *γραμμένα*: the verbal adjectives *γραφτέ* for *γραπτός*, *ποιητέ*, *δαρτέ* are also employed.

13. Hence it appears that the bulk of the inflections of verbs, with the exception of the pres. and imper. and the periphrastic conjugations, follow on the whole the Greek analogy, with the restrictions already pointed out: *γράφου*, aor. *γράψα* not *ἔγραψα*, *ἀγαπῆσα* not *ἠγάπησα*, subj. *γράψου* for *γράψω*, *δάρου* for *δαρῶ*, and *ἀγαπήου* for *ἀγαπήσω*; in like manner *ἀγαπηθοῦ* for *ἀγαπηθῶ*, etc.

Formation of the Persons.

1. The formation of the persons is like that of the tenses, twofold; either approximating to the habits of the Greek language in that particular, or being a combination of the stem and the substantive verb.

2. To the former system belongs, in the first place, the inflection of the subjunctive in *ου*:

Pres.	1 Aor.	2 Aor.
γράφου	*γράψου*	*δάρου*
γράφερε	*γράψερε*	*δάρερε*
γράφει	*γράψει*	*δάρε*
γράφουμε	*γράψομε*	*δάρομε*
γράφετε	*γράψετε*	*δάρετε*
γράφοϊ	*γράψοϊ*	*δάροϊ*

There is no difference in the forms when a vowel precedes *ου*: *ἀγαπήου*, *ἀγαπήερε*, *ἀγαπῆε*.

3. The 1 aor. and perf. indic. are similarly inflected:

1 Aor.	Perf.	Perf.	Perf.
γράψα	ἐγρᾶβα	ἐφύγκα	ἁμαρτάγκα
γράψερε	ἐγρᾶβερε	ἐφύγκερε	ἁμαρτάγερε
γράψε	ἐγρᾶβε	ἐφῦγκε	ἁμαρτᾶγε
γράψαμε	ἐγράβαμε	ἐφύγκαμε	ἁμαρτάγαμε
γράψατε	ἐγράβατε	ἐφύγκατε	ἁμαρτάγατε
γράψαϊ	ἐγράβαϊ	ἐφύγκαϊ	ἁμαρτάγκαϊ

4. When K stands alone before E, it is changed into Z:

ἐγαμῆκα	ὡρᾶκα
ἐγαμήζερε	ὡράζερε
ἐγαμῆζε	ὡρᾶζε
ἐγαμήκαμε	ὡράκαμε
ἐγαμήκατε	ὡράκατε
ἐγαμήκαϊ	ὡράκαϊ

5. The pronouns connected with the verb are placed either before or after it, but in the latter position they are attached to it as suffixes: *ἐάν μι δάροϊ, ἐάν τι δάροϊ, ἐάν σι δάροϊ,* or *ἐὰν δαροΐμι, ἐὰν δαροΐτι, ἐὰν δαροΐσι, if they slew him.*

6. Personal inflection of the perfect passive:

ὡρᾶμα	ἐγράμα	ἐνᾶμα
ὡράτερε	ἐγράτερε	ἐνάτερε
ὡρᾶτε	ἐγράτε	ἐνᾶτε
ὡράμαϊ	ἐγράμαϊ	ἐνάμαϊ
ὡράτατε	ἐγράτατε	ἐνάτατε
ὡράταϊ	ἐγράταϊ	ἐνάταϊ

7. Personal inflection of the aorist subjunctive passive:

ὁραθοῦ
ὁραθῆρε
ὁραθῆ
ὁραθοῦμε
ὁραθῆτε
ὁραθοῦνι

8. Thus we have for the passive personal inflection,

a) in the perf. *μα, τερε, τε*
μαϊ, ταρε, ταϊ

b) in the aor. *οῦ, ῆρε, ῆ*
οῦμε, ῆτε, οῦνι.

§ 10. *Personal inflection, and Conjugation of the Present and Imperfect.*

1. This is effected, as we have seen, by connecting the *stem* as developed in the participle, act. *γράφου, γράφα,* plur. *γράφουντε,* pass. *γραφούμενε,* with the substantive verb, by the help of the coupling sound P, thus making a distinction of genders; *γραφουρένι I write,* a man being the speaker, *γραφαρένι I write,* a woman speaking: we have seen too that the fem. drops P, *γραφαένι,* plur. *γραφουντερέμμε,* and also that the substantive verb is put before the participle: *ἔνι γράφου* and *ἔνι γράφα, ἔμμε γράφουντε* and *ἔνι γραφούμενε.*

2. If the person is clearly indicated by the context, the substantive verb is omitted: *γράφου I write, ἐσοὺ γράφου* emphatically; in the third person plural, *οἱ σοφοὶ γράφουντε,* to which the Latin *scribunt* approaches more nearly than the Hellenic *γράφοντι.*

3. Now, though we have here only a juxtaposition of the participle and the substantive verb, still the coalition of the two into one and the same form is postulated not only by the apparition of P between the stem and the substantive verb, but also by the commixture of the open sounds, *e. g. ἐὰν ἐνοροῦ* not *ἔνι ὁροῦ,* so likewise *ἐμοροῦ* instead of *ἔμμε ὁροῦ we see.*

4. The same system of personal inflection prevails in the compound tenses, or in the periphrastic conjugation which we have mentioned as formed by *ἔχου, ἔχω,* and *θέου, θέλω,* and the participle of the perfect pass. or the verbal adjective: *ἐχουρέμα γραφτέ I had written, ἐχουρέμα 'πτέ* (from *εἶπον*) or *ἔμα ἔχου γραφτέ,* or *ἔμα ἔχα*

γραφτέ. In the plural the τε of the termination expands into AI, *e. g.* ἴγγιαι ἔχοντε or ἔχονται γραφτέ, and without ἴγγιαι only ἔχονται γραφτέ, where the full form of the third person plur. pass. comes forth.

5. The same appearances are presented by the future formed with θέου and νὰ in connexion with the first aor. subjunct. θέου or θεουρένι νὰ γράψου or ἔνι θέου νὰ γράψου or ἔνι θεουγράψου, and *in futuro præteriti*, ἔμα θέου νὰ γράψου or θεουρέμα νὰ γράψου *I would write.*

6. The clearness and completeness of these forms, made up of the participle and the substantive verb, remove all difficulty from the conjugation of the present and imperfect; only that when the verb precedes, combination takes place even in this case through the accent, and fusion when open syllables come together: ἐμαϊέχοντε *habebamus*, ἰγκιαιέχοντε and ἰγκιέχοντε *habebant.*

7. Present: A.) Conjug. verbo substant. postposito.

	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	γραφουρένι	γραφαρένι and γραφαένι
	γραφουρέσι	γραφαρέσι and γραφαέσι
	γραφουρέννι	γραφαρέννι and γραφαέννι
Plur.	γραφουντερέμμε	γραφουντερέμμε, etc.
	γραφουντερέτε	
	γραφουντερίννι	

B.) Conjug. verbo subst. præposito.

	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	ἐνιγράφου	ἐνιγράφα
	ἐσιγράφου	ἐσιγράφα
	ἐννιγράφου	ἐννιγράφα
Plur.	ἐμμεγράφουντε	ἐμμεγράφουντε
	ἐτεγράφουντε	etc.
	ἐννιγράφουντε	

In like manner ὀρουρένι, ὀρουρέσι, ὀρουρέννι, and with synalœpha, ἐνοροῦ, ἐσοροῦ, ἐννοροῦ, ἐμμοροῦντε, ἐτοροῦντε, ἰννοροῦντε.

8. Imperfect.

	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	γραφουρέμα	γραφαρέμα or γραφαέμα
	γραφουρέσα	γραφαρέσα or γραφαέσα
	γραφουρέκι	γραφαρέκι etc.
Plur.	γραφουντέμαϊ	
	γραφουντέταϊ	
	γραφουντίγκαϊ	or,
Sing.	ἐμαγράφου	ἐμαγράφα
	ἐσαγράφου	ἐσαγράφα
	ἐκιγράφου	ἐκιγράφα
Plur.	ἐμαϊγράφουντε, etc.	
	ἐταγράφουντε	
	ἰγγιαιγράφουντε, and, with elision of ι, ἰγγιαγράφουντε	

In like manner ἐμαθσχοῦ and ἐμαθσχοῦα ἔτρωγον *I ate*, ἐσαθσχοῦ and ἐσαθσχοῦα *thou atest*, ἐκιθσχοῦ *he ate*, and ἐκιθσχοῦα *she ate;* plural ἐμαθσχοῦντε, ἐταθσχοῦντε, ἰγγιαθσχοῦντε. Or θσχουρέμα θσχουαρέμα or θσχουαέμα *I ate*, θσχουρέσα θσχουαρέμα or θσχουαέμα *I ate*, θσχουρέσα θσχουαρέσα and θσχουαέσα *thou atest*, θσχουρέκι *he ate*, θσχουαρέκι or θσχουαέκι *she ate*, &c.

9. The passive personal inflection runs precisely in the same way, with the substitution of the passive form of the participle: A.) Present,

γραφουμενε -ρένι and γραφουμεναρένι or γραφουμεναένι
ρέσι
ρέννι
ρέμμε
ρέτε
ρίννι

B.) Imperfect in like manner,

γραφουμενε -ρέμα, *scribebar*, γραφουμεναρέμα or γραφουμεναέμα
ρέσα
ρέκι
ρέμαϊ
ρέταϊ
ρίγκιαι

§ 11. *Lexicological Remarks on the Verbs.*

The following collection of verbs will serve to indicate the analogies of their forms;

A, E.

1. Ἀβράγου ἁρπάζω; subj. ἐὰν ἁβράζου with ζ recurring, 2 pers. ἁβράζερε, 3. ἁβρᾶζε; perf. ἁβρᾶ (for ἁβρᾶκα), 2. ἁβράερε, 3. ἁβρᾶε; plur. ἁβρᾶμε, ἁβρᾶτε, ἁβρᾶνι, where ν appears after long α, as it does after ου in ὁραθοῦνι. Passive pres. ἁβραγουμενερένι, subj. ἐὰν ἔννι ἁβραγούμενε, perf. ἁβρᾶμα, part. ἁβρακτέ.—2. Ἁμαρτίνου ἁμαρτάνω, perf. ἁμαρτάγκα, 2 pers. ἁμαρτάγερι, where N has been dropped and K weakened into γα. Aor. pass. subj. ἐὰν ἁμραθοῦ.—3. Ἐνεγκουρέμι (comp. ἐνέγκω) *I (bring myself hither) come;* also without the reduplicating ἐν, *e.g.* θὰ τσχέγκου, *i. e.* θὰ τσχὶ ἔγκου; *whence comest thou?*—4. Ἐρέκου εὑρίσκω, perf. ἐραῖκα εὕρηκα, where there appears a trace of the obscure pronunciation of H = AI.

Π, Β, Φ.

1. Παρίου ἔρχομαι, no doubt from the primitive form ἴω, whence παριών. The plural of ἴου, viz. ἴεντε and ἴντε, points to εἶμι. Thus παριουρένι, plur. παριεντερέμμε or παριντερέμμε.—2. Βοῦ βοάω *I shout*, pres. βουρένι or ἐνιβοῦ, subj. ἐὰν βαΐζου βαΐζερε, where a compressed βοάζω makes its appearance; perf. ἐβᾶκα for ἐβοᾶκα, pluperf. ἐμαέχου βατέ.—3. Φτύζου πτύω, perf. ἐφκῦα, aor. ἐφκῦσα, imperf. φκύσε, φκύσετε; compare οἴσετε and the like in Homer for οἴσατε.—4. Φοζουμενερένι φοβοῦμαι, perf. ἐφοσᾶμα, founded upon φυζάνω (φοσάνου); comp. φύζα Homer, and φυζάνω Hesych.: partic. φοσατέ, aor. subj. ἐὰν φοσαθοῦ.—5. Φύγου φεύγω, subj. νὰ φύζου, φύζερε, φῦζε, perf. ἐφῦγκα.

Κ, Γ, Χ.

1. Κιάνω, modern Greek πιάνω *I grasp*, perf. ἐκιᾶκα, aor. ἐκίασα, subj. ἐὰν κιάσου, pass. κιανουμενερένι, perf.

ἐκιᾶμα, partic. κιατέ, κιατά.—2. Κίνου πίνω, perf. ἐγχῖκα for ἐπῖκα, ἐκ being thickened into ἐγκ, and thereby supplying the place of the reduplication, which is alien to Tzakonic; 2nd person ἐγχίζερε, aor. subj. ἐὰν κίου *si bibam*, which leads back to ἔκιον ἔπιον and to the primitive form πίω.—3. Κεινοῦ πεινῶ, subj. ἐὰν κεινάου, perf. ἐκεινᾶκα.—4. Κλείου κλείω *I shut*, perf. ἐκλεῖκα, pass. ἐκλεῖμα, part. κλειστέ, κλειστά.—5. Κιμοῦ τιμῶ, subj. ἐὰν κιμάου, κιμάερε, κιμᾶε, ἐὰν κιμᾶμε, ᾶτε, ᾶνε, perf. ἐκιμᾶ for ἐκιμᾶκα, pass. ἐκιμοῦμα, part. κιμουτέ, which is to be regarded as *impure*, since it carries the syllable ου, contracted from αου, into the perfect, contrary to analogy; aor. subj. ἐὰν κιμαθοῦ.—6. Κρέφου κλέπτω, aor. ἔκρεψα, subj. ἐὰν κρέψου, perf. ἐκρέβα, and pass. ἐκρέμᾰ, part. κρεφτέ, κρεφτά.—7. Κρύζου κλύζω *I wash*, perf. ἐκρῦα, pass. ἐκρῦμα, part. κρυτέ, κρυτά, founded upon the old κρύου (πλύω for πλύνω).—8. Γέαου γελάω, perf. ἐγεᾶκα. In the passive the root assumes ΣΚ, γεασκουμενερένι perf. ἐγεάσμα, particip. γεατέ and γεατά.—9. Γινουμενερένι γίνομαι, and from the root ΓΑ, which appears in γέγαμεν and γεγάασι, but with N instead of Γ, perf. pass. ἐνᾶμα, ἐνάτερε, ἐνᾶτε, plur. ἐνάμαϊ, ἐνάτατε, ἐνάταϊ, aor. subj. ναθοῦ, ναθῆρε, ναθῆ, plur. ναθοῦμε, ναθῆτε, ναθοῦνι, a softening, no doubt, of γενναθοῦ, γναθοῦ (compare *natus*, *prognatus*, derived from *gennatus*).—10. Χαιρεκίζου, modern Greek χαιρετίζω *I greet*, aor. χαιρεκῖσα, subj. χαιρεκίσου, perf. ἐχαιρέκα, from the stem χαιρέ, which leads up to ΧΑΙΡΕΩ, extant in κεχάρηκα.

Τ, Δ, Θ.

1. Ταίχου, *I stand up*, probably ἀΐσσω, which had thrown off its Τ; perf. ἐταῖκα, aor. subj. ἐὰν τάου, τᾶρε, τᾶϊ, pl. τᾶμε, τᾶτε, τᾶνι, where ν recurs as in ἀβρᾶνι, ὁραθοῦνι, under similar circumstances of accentuation and effect. So likewise ζᾶνι, of which hereafter.—2. Δαίσου (δαίω) *I set on fire*, as if from the more full form ΔΑΙΖΩ; perf. ἐδάϊκα and ἐδᾶκα, ἐδάζερε, ἐδᾶζε, plur. ἐδάκαμε, ἐδάκατε,

ἐδάκαϊ.—3. Δενουμενερίνι δύναμαι, in which E has been assumed in the place of Υ, and A lies concealed in the contraction. Hence the perf. δενᾶμα, aor. subj. ἐὰν δεναθοῦ. —4. Δίδου and δίου (ΔΙΔΟΩ) δίδωμι, subj. ἐὰν διδοῦ and ἐὰν νιδοῦ, the Δ assimilating itself to the foregoing ν, ἐὰν νιδῆρε, νιδῆ, aor. subj. ἐὰν δοῦ, δῖρε, δῖ, plural δοῦμε, δῖτε, δοῦνε, perf. ἐδοῦκα, ἐδούζερε, etc.—5. Θυμούκου, modern Greek θυμώνω, subj. ἐὰν θυμοῦ, which may be from θυμούκου, though it may also be a relic of the primitive form ΘΥΜΟΩ. Perf. ἐθυμοῦκα, perf. pass. ἐθυμοῦμα, partic. θυμουτέ and θυμουτά.

Σ, Z, ΤΣΧ.

1. Ζιττοῦ πίπτω, formed by contraction of ΑΩ, compare πετάννυμι; perf. ἐζιτᾶ for ἐζιτᾶκα, ἐζιτάερε, ἐζιτάζε, plur. ἐζιτάκαμε, ἐζιτάκατε, ἐζιτάκαϊ, subj. νὰ ζιτάκου, ζιτάζερε, etc. —2. Σκοτούνου, modern Greek σκοτόνω *I kill*, perf. ἐσκουτοῦκα, pass. ἐσκουτοῦμα, part. σκουτουτέ, aor. subj. ἐὰν σκουτουθοῦ.—3. Στρούνου στρώννυμι, perf. ἐστροῦκα, perf. pass. ἐστροῦμα, part. στρουτέ, στρουτά.—4. Ζοῦ from ζάου, that is, π being exchanged for ζ, πάω the modern Greek abbreviation of ὑπάγω *I go*; subj. νὰ ζάου, ζᾶρε, ζᾶϊ, plur. νὰ ζᾶμεν, ζᾶτε, ζᾶνι, perf. ἐζᾶκα, ἐζάζερε, etc.— 5. Τσχοῦ for τσχούγου τρώγω, subj. ἐὰν τσχοῦ, perf. ἐτσχοῦκα, pass. ἐτσχοῦμα, subj. τσχουθοῦ, part. τσχουτέ, τσχουτά.

M, N.

1. Μβαίνου ἀναβαίνω, perf. ἐμβαῖκα, ἐμβαίζερε.— 2. Μπενάκου ἀποθνήσκω, or rather the modern Greek πεθάνω for ἀποθάνω, N supplanting Θ, and K taking the place of N in the termination, as in θυμούκου; perf. ἐπενᾶκα.—3. Μαθαίνου μανθάνω, perf. ἐμαθῆκα, aor. subj. ἐὰν μάθου, μάθερε, μάθε, plur. μάθεμε, μάθετε, μάθοϊ.— 4. Νιρίζου γνωρίζω, with an attenuating modification of

γνω into Νι, as before ναθοῦ for γναθοῦ. In the passive it takes σκ instead of ζ (comp. γιγνώσκω), νιρισκουμενερένι, aor. νιρῖσα, subj. ἐὰν νιρίσου, perf. ἐνιρῖκα, aor. pass. subj. ἐὰν νιρισθοῦ.—5. Νίου ἀκούω. Its contraction from νιάου is manifested by subj. ἐὰν νιάου, perf. ἐνιᾶκα, perf. pass. ἐνιοῦμα, partic. νιατέ and νιατά, so that it is probably connected with ἀΐω.—6. Νίφου νίπτω, perf. ἐνίβα, pass. ἐνῖμα, aor. subj. ἐὰν νιφθοῦ, part. νιφτέ, νιφτά.

§ 12. *Specimens of Phraseology.*

1. THE LORD'S PRAYER.

'Αφένγα[1] νάμου π' ἔσι,[2] 'ς τον[3] ουρανέ. Νὰ ἔννι ἁγιαστέ τὸ ὀνουμάντι, νὰ μόλῃ ἀ βασιλειάντι, νὰ ναθῇ τὸ θελημάντι σὰν[4] 'του ρὺρανέ ἔζρου[5] ζὲ 'τὰν ἰγῆ. Τὸν ἄνθε τὸν ἐπιούσιον[6] δὶ νάμου νι[7] σάμερε, ζὲ ἄφε νάμου τὰ χρίε νάμου καθοὺ ζὲ ἐνὺ ἐμμαφῖντε τοὺ χρεουφελῖτε νάμου, ζὲ μὴ νὰ φερίζερε ἐμούνανε 'ς κειρασμὸ, ἀλλὰ ἐλευθέρου νάμου ἀπὸ τὸ κακό.

[1] *ἀφέντης*, mod. Gr. *lord*. [2] *π' ἔσι* is *ποῦ ἔσι*, and *ποῦ* mod. Gr. is used in current discourse instead of *ὁ ὁποῖος*. [3] *'ς τον*, mod. Gr. *εἰς τον*, for *ἐν τῷ*, N being added on account of the following vowel. [4] *σὰν*, mod. Gr. for *ὡς ἄν*, *i. e. ὥσπερ*. [5] *ἔζρου*, mod. Gr. *ἔτζι*, *so too*, *ρού* is a contraction of *ρ' ούν*: also nun aud, *so forsooth also*. [6] The language cannot express the idea conveyed by *τὸν ἐπιούσιον*: the word, however, is understood from its use in the Lord's Prayer. [7] *i. e. give us it.*

2. *The Woman and the Hen.*

Νία γουναῖκα χήρα ἔχα νία κόττα[1] ὅπου καθημέρα ἔκι γεννοῦα ἕνα αὐγό[2]. Ἐκι νομῖσα ἂν νιδῖ τὰν κόττα πᾶσχε κρίσι θὰ γεννάει δυβολαὶ[3] κατ' ἀμέρα, ζὲ νὶ ἐμποῖζε[4]. 'Αλλὰ ἀ κόττα ἀπὸ τὸ πάσχου πάχου δὲν ἐμπορῖζε[5] πλία νὰ γεννάῃ κανένα αὐγό.

[1] *κόττα*, mod. Gr. *hen*. [2] *αὐγό*, mod. Gr. *egg*. [3] *δυβολαί*, mod. Gr. *δυοβολαῖς twice*. [4] *νί* it, *ἐμποῖζε*, *ἐποίησε*. [5] *δὲν ἐμπορῖζε*, mod. Gr. *δὲν ἐμπόρισε could not*.

3. *The Dog and his Image in the Water.*

Περοῦ ἕνα κοῦε ἀπὸ τὸ ποταμὸ μὲ τὸ κρίε 'ς τὸ τοῦμά ζὲ ὁροῦ τάσου τὸ ὕο[1] τὸ νακόθσχα σι. Ἔκι νομίζου ποῦ τὰ κάτω ὁρούμενε ἔκι ἄλλε κοῦε π' ἔκι ἔχου κρίε 'ς τὸ τοῦμα, τότε ἀφῖζε τὸ ἀληθινό, διὰ νὰ πᾶρε τὸ ὁρούμενε, καὶ ἔκι ζὲ ἀπὸ τὰ δοῦο στερουτέ.

[1] *τάσου therein,* from *τὰ ἔσω, τάσου τὸ ὕο* for *τάσου 'ς τὸ ὕο within the water.*

HISTORICAL PART.

In the historical part of his Essay, the author begins by exposing the error of Kopitar, in supposing the Tzakonic tongue to be of Sclavonic origin, an error connected with that greater error of another German author (Fallremeyer), who imagines that the modern Peloponnesians are entirely of Sclavonic descent. To M. Thiersch's observations on this question, we may add the powerful argument derived from the proportion between the Greek and Sclavonic names of places in the Moréa, of which there are ten of the former to one of the latter. Tzakonía[1] was probably neither more nor less exempt from Sclavonic mixture than other parts of the peninsula; though it certainly is remarkable that the Sclavonic *mati* for mother should be employed by some of the Tzakonians, together with μάνα and μητέρα, the usual Roman words, as *mati* is never heard with that meaning in other parts of Greece, unless very near the Bulgarian frontier. As to the

[1] The more vulgar accentuation of this name is on the last syllable—Tzakoniá, according to a common Romaic corruption of the termination *ία*.

names Kastánitza, Sidínia, Prastó, adduced by Kopitar as Sclavonic names, the first is derived from its chestnut woods, with a termination adopted, indeed, from Sclavonic, but naturalized and extensively employed in Romaic from an early time. The second name is not Sidínia, but Sítena (Σήτενα), or as written by Phranza Σίτανας. By the same author Prastó is written Προάστειον, a name derived, perhaps, from the place having originally been a suburb of Réonda, or rather of the more ancient town which stood on the same site.

M. Thiersch, having disposed of the Sclavonic origin of the dialect of Tzakonía, proceeds to remark that

From modern Greek is derived the use in Tzakonic of many words not current among the ancients, which have been adopted into the modern language, such as πιάνου, πιάνω, ὑποχρεούκου, ὑποχρεόνω, θυμούκου, θυμόνω, and in the specimens given above ἀφένγα, *i. e.* ἀφέντης, mod. Gr. *lord, master* for *father*, ζούρι κύριος, with the same meaning, 'ς τὸν for ἐν τῷ, ὕπου for ὅστις, αὐγό for ὠόν, δυοβολαί, κανένα, μὲ for μετὰ, διὰ νά: still the nucleus of the language preserves its integrity in spite of these foreign accessions; nay, more, it modifies what it borrows from modern Greek, in accordance with its own laws for shaping syllables and words, so that it transforms them to the very core, changing νὰ πᾶμεν into νὰ ζᾶμεν, κύριος μου into ζούρι μι, πιάνω into κιάνου, διοικητής, a word recently borrowed, into ζοικητά, and τί πυῖα *nothing*, into ζίττα. Far then from sinking by its immixture of modern Greek into a kind of medley or patois, Tzakonic displays in these modifications the power of subjecting to its own laws, and assimulating to its own nature, such foreign materials as it cannot dispense with,—a power which may be regarded as

the fashioner as well as the preserver of language, and as a token that the idiom in which it prevails is instinct with individual life. In short, these preliminary observations, far from being unfavourable to Tzakonic, tend greatly to countenance the conjecture that we have here a form of language of remote descent and peculiar kind.

In directing our attention to the peculiarities of the language, we shall observe, in the first place, that it retains in current use a host (ein Schatz) of ancient Greek words, very long extinct in common Greek. Thus we have still surviving in Tzakonic, with slight alterations, *ἄριστον, ἄρουρα, ἔριφος, ὀδὼν, ὄνος, βοῶ, θεωρῶ, ὁρῶ*, &c.; besides many words, the ancient Hellenic shape of which can no longer escape us now, that we have got an insight into the Tzakonic system of exchanging sounds, such as *βότσχε, τσχίχα, θσχοῦ, ἄρουγκα, etc.*[1] To this head belong also remains of old methods of pronunciation, for instance, that of open *αι* instead of the vulgar *ε*, *ἐδαΐκα*, from *δαίω*, *ἐμβαΐκα*, from *ἐμβαίνω*, and the like. There is one particular in which we find not only antiquity, but a correspondence with the more delicate usages of the ancients, namely, in the adverbs, with the neuter plural of the article, *τάσου, τὰ ἔσω, within, τάνου, i. e. τὰ ἄνω, above;* likewise, neuters plural used adverbially, sometimes alone, *ταχία, i. e. ταχέα*, from *ταχύς quickly, soon*, that is, *in the morning;* sometimes with the article, *e. g. τἀργά, i. e. τὰ ἀργά late*, that is, *in the evening.* There are even some traces of the connexion of adverbial

[1] Considering Dr. Thiersch's "residence in the mountains of Tzakonía, and his prolonged inquiries at Nauplia in 1832," it is to be regretted that he has not supplied us with a larger catalogue of the "host of ancient Greek words extinct in Romaic." Even of those here enumerated, and in p. 311 seq., there are several not unknown to the Romaic tongue, as *ὀδὼν*, R. *ὀδόντιον*, *βοῶ* (*μία βοῶσα une criarde*), *θεωρῶ*. In truth, Hellenic words, not found in any other part of Greece, are not very numerous in Tzakonía.

forms with prepositions, *e. g.* σύνταχα synonymous with ταχία, compare σύν δύω or the common μετέπειτα: and in this way adjective pronouns are used adverbially in the genitive feminine, as ἀπὸ ζοιᾶς; *whence?* When we take into consideration these ancient forms of words and adverbial expressions, we may regard Tzakonic as on the same footing with the dialects of other districts, where the herdsmen and husbandmen in particular, employ a greater number of ancient Greek words than are to be found in the ordinary language of Greece. Such is the case in the larger islands, for instance, in the mountain villages of Naxos, even in the interior of Corfu, where no little Hellenic is discoverable in the speech of the peasants, the representatives of the ancient inhabitants, and, especially, among the bleak and rugged crags of Icaria, which afford only pasture for goats, and scanty crops of barley; and where the inhabitants, secured from molestation by their poverty, have descended in direct lineage from the Hellenic aborigines of the island, and have retained in form, dress, manners, and also in language, much of what belonged to their forefathers.

But that which, above all, gives Tzakonic a closer affinity than the vulgar tongue to the ancient Greek, is its rich infusion of *Doricisms*. Not only is Doricism certain in the article ἀ, τᾶς, τὰν, in the pronouns, *e. g.* ζοία, ζοιᾶς, in the stem as ἀμέρα, σάμερε, and in words of Tzakonic analogy, as ψιοῦχα, ψυχή, τροῦπα τρύπη[1], but A subsists in full force in those parts of verbs in which common

[1] Τροῦπα in many parts of Greece is more common than τρύπη, and the same may be said of some other Doric sounds occurring in Tzakonía, which may equally be found in some of the other secluded parts of Greece. The change of the Hellenic ο or ω into the Romaic ου is one of the most common conversions or corruptions of the modern dialect. It is not to be disputed, however, that the Greeks of Mount *Parnon* retain more numerous vestiges of the Doric dialect than are to be found in any other of the more secluded districts of Greece.

Greek admits H, as in ἐβᾶκα from ἐβοᾶκα, ἐκεινᾶκα from πεινάω, κιμᾶ for κιμᾶκα, compare τετίμηκα, likewise ἐδᾶκα and δέδηα. Thus also from καταβᾶμι come καβά and καμβά, *i. e.* καταβᾶθι, and ἐπεινᾶκα is τέθνηκα.

If we ascend further in antiquity, and extend our researches to that form of language, which was developed previously to the Doric, in the epic songs which have come down to us, we shall here too not fail to meet with similarities of usage. With the lengthening of ο in τοῦμα στόμα compare the νοῦσος (νόσος) of Homer, and the use of ΟΥ instead of Υ in γουναῖκα, τροῦπα, &c., with εἰλήλουθα for εἰλήλυθα; but, above all, the undeveloped forms of nouns of the first declension, προφῆτα and ζοικητά, with ἠπύτα, ἱππότα, and the E of the aor. imper. *e. g.* φκύσετε πτύσατε with the Homeric οἴσετε for οἴσατε. We may also remark the keeping open of A in the subjunctive of contracted verbs νὰ γεννάου, νὰ κιμάου, and the elision of whole syllables, *e. g.* τὸ γά for γάλα, like δῶ for δῶμα, κρῖ for κριθή.

But behind these stands in far more remote antiquity the oldest Doric, such as it is presented to us by Aristophanes, in the mouths of the Laconians. Here, too, there occurs an almost complete parallelism in the dropping of Σ between ΟΥ and Α, and if we reflect that in Tzakonic ΟΥ in fact takes the place of Ω, then ἐκλιπῶα μῶα, which in Tzakonic would be ἐκλιποῦα μοῦα, will bear as close a resemblance to the latter as can possibly subsist between two forms of language. The analogy thus established is corroborated by παρσένε, Ἀσαναῖοι, where Σ is substituted for Θ, and ὑμνίωμες for ὑμνέωμεν (ι instead of ε), with which we may compare the Tzakonic κρίε, κρίας, ἐννία for ἐννέα.

Professor Thiersch then calls attention

to those simple forms, standing in nearer relation to their roots, which this language displays, whilst all known Greek

possesses only the *enlarged* and deduced forms. To this class belongs ὁ νο *the water*, where the Greek ὕδωρ passed through a compound stem; ὁ βρέχο *the rain*, standing in immediate contact with βρέχω, whilst βροχή presupposes the lengthening of βρεχ into βροχέ, and thus also κρέφου and νίφου with primitive stems, whilst a T has crept into κλέπτω and νίπτω; so likewise φύγου where φεύγω has taken up an ε, ἀβράγου (comp. ἀρπαγή) whilst in ἀρπάζω γ has been supplanted by ζ.—To the same high antiquity belong, above all, the undeveloped forms of the second declension, which, in the progressive development of the language, took E as the characteristic that stamped the stem as a noun: as in German, from gut, der gute, so from καλ, ὁ καλέ, ὁ ἐχθρέ, ὐ οὐρανέ, *etc.*—this extends even to words subsequently received into the third declension, *e. g.* βότσχε βότρυς: with the Tzakonic *Umlaut*, we have ἀδσχέ *i. e.* ἀδρέ, ἀδρός *large*, ἀδσχίρερε *larger*, and πᾶσχε, πᾶσχα, a word which indicates the neuter by O, πάσχου, and thereby enters the lists of those forms out of which were subsequently developed the terminations ος, η, ον. Besides these terminations in O there appear others, *e. g.* ὁ ὄνο, ὁ νόμο, ὁ σοφό, which are to be regarded either as weakenings or as first attempts at the formation of the nominative in ος. The analogy is as definite as that of the first declension of nouns in A instead of ΗΣ; but whilst some forms at least of the latter have been preserved in written Greek by the epic rhythm, no trace of the other analogy has passed into written Greek, and the forms in E have remained in use solely for the vocative, the original twin of the nominative, as which it has also maintained itself in the first declension in A, in relation to the Homeric ἱππότα, νεφεληγερέτα. By these phenomena, antecedent to all written Greek, we are thus in a measure carried back to an ante-hellenic period.

As it is evident that Greeks and Italians have arrived at similar results by the elision of final

consonants, it became necessary to the Professor to show that

we must not hastily decide those forms of case to be *corruptions*, but that we are to look upon them, where there are no special reasons to the contrary, as undeveloped cases of a primitive tongue. This is made very clear by the uniformity of the nominative and genitive, ἁ χῶρα, τᾶ χῶρα, ὁ πολῖτα; τοῦ πολῖτα, Plur. οἱ πολῖται, gen. τοῦ πολῖται, *etc.*, and the whole inflection of ὁ βοῦ (from ὁ βόε) ὁ βοῦ, τοῦ βοῦ, τῷ βοῦ, τὸν βοῦα, Pl. οἱ βοῦε, τοῦ βοῦε, *etc.*, where we see that the language has developed but three forms; so likewise ὁ μήν Tzakonic ὁ μηνός, τοῦ μηνέ, τῷ μηνί, τὸν μῆνα, where the dative and accusative have arrived at their full growth, whilst the nom. and the gen. are still in embryo, as well as all the plural. Thus the formation of the cases is, on the whole, but rudimentary, and is in the lowest stage of development in the plural. On the other hand, there is no mistaking the fact that ὁ ἴδρουτα, ἁ τσχῖχα, ἁ γουναῖκα, ὁ ποῦα (πόδα) follow the analogy of modern Greek, which often employs the accusative form for the nominative, if, indeed, there be not possibly here a relic of an ancient principle of structure, as seems to be indicated by the forms ὁ πατέρας, ὁ βασιλέας, which can neither be regarded as accusatives singular, nor as corruptions, such are the completeness and the definiteness of their forms.

But for this curious part of the Essay, I must refer the reader to the ingenious original, which terminates as follows:—

Before we close the philological part of this treatise, we must take a nearer view of the constitutional law of formation of the Tzakonic tongue itself. To languages belongs the character either of inherent *guttural concision*, or of *labial softness:* the former is the genius of the rude, unfashioned, full and strong, the *mountain tongues;* the

latter, of the soft dialects affecting richness of tone and plasticity, belonging to the inhabitants of the plains and the dwellers by the sea. Now it is plain under which of these two classes Tzakonic falls. It is intensely, and still more decidedly than common Greek, disposed *to softness* and richness of vocalization; and the language in the mouth of Tzakonians produces upon the first attentive hearing the impression of a soft melody. This proceeds from the opening of syllables closed in common Greek, for which reason the closing consonants ν and ς do not make their appearance,—from the rejection of the weak middle sounds, *e. g.* ζέα, θέου, δίου instead of ζέλλα, θέλω, δίδου,—and from the lengthening of the sounds thus rendered open, ποῦα for πόδα,—from the softening of the harsher combinations of consonants, *e. g.* ἀβράγου for ἀρπάζω, νιενερίζω for γνωρίζω, ἀβρᾶμα for ἀβρᾶγμα, ἐγρᾶμα for ἐγρᾶμμα,—from the lengthening of Υ into ΟΥ, τροῦπα, γουναῖκα preferably in the case of harder sounds ψιοῦχα, κτιουποῦ. The full sound of ΣΧ for Σ in πᾶσχε and the adoption of ΤΣΧ instead of ΤΡ are to be imputed to the same tendency to softness, to which such a combination as ΤΡ is too harshly offensive.

To sum up the result of all our foregoing remarks on Tzakonic, it is clear that we have in it a language which differs from common Greek, particularly in the structure of the pronouns and the substantive verb, and in the personal inflection of verbs, too widely to admit of its being a dialect of that language, and that this tongue is connected indeed with the modern Greek, the common ancient Greek, the Doric, the epic, and the ancient Laconic dialects; but that it also diverges from them, and refers in certain essential forms to a language wherein the *origines* of Greek, Latin, and of German, are found.

This language M. Thiersch supposes to have been the Pelasgic, which seems indeed the only mode of accounting for some of the grammatical peculiarities of the Tzakonic, such as the forms of the present

and imperfect tenses; for there is nothing similar in the old Peloponnesian, as indicated by inscriptions or by the fragments of that language which have been preserved by Aristophanes and Thucydides. The Professor then inquires into the history of the Tzákones, in illustration of his conclusions as to their language. This people (he observes) is mentioned by two of the Byzantine historians, Nicephorus Gregoras and George Pachymeres.

Nicephorus Gregoras relates in his Byzantine History (lib. iv. p. 58. ed. Paris, p. 49 B. ed. Ven.) that Michael Palæologus, when he had driven the Latins out of Constantinople, and soon after from Eubœa, equipped a fleet of sixty triremes, and manned it chiefly with *Gasmulians* (ἔκ τε ἄλλων καὶ γένους τοῦ Γασμουλικοῦ). The Gasmulians, he says, were reared at once in Roman (Byzantine-Greek), and Latin habits: from the Romans they derived the faculty of engaging in fight with prudence and forethought (ἐσκεμμένως), whilst boldness (τὸ εὔτολμον) was their gift from the Latins. Besides these men there was a body of marines under arms, *Laconians*, recently procured by the emperor from Peloponnesus, and called in the common corrupt tongue Τζάκωνες. (Συνῆν δὲ τούτοις καὶ στρατὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις θαλάττιος, Λάκωνες ἄρτι προσελθόντες ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τῷ βασιλεῖ οὓς ἡ κοινὴ παραφθείρασα γλῶσσα Τζάκωνας μετωνόμασεν.) The account given by Georgius Pachymeres (Hist. lib. iv. p. 209, ed. Rom. p. 173 D. ed. Venet.) is nearly to the same effect, but contains a few more circumstantial elucidations. The Gasmuli, he says, were dispersed through the city (οἱ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν Γασμοῦλοι). They were διγενεῖς, that is to say, born o Romaic (Greek) women by Latin fathers, and belonged to that medley of foreign or Frankish races that had founded the Latin throne in Byzantium. They were ἄνδρες νεανικοὶ τὰς ὁρμὰς, καὶ τὰς προθυμίας λαφυστικοὶ, *men of youthful daring, and greedy of booty;* there were

likewise ἄλλοι τε πλεῖστοι ἐκ τῶν Λακώνων, οὓς καὶ Τζάκωνας παραφθείροντες ἔλεγον, οὓς ἔκ τε Μορέου καὶ τῶν δυτικῶν μερῶν ἅμα μὲν πολλοὺς ἅμα δὲ καὶ μαχίμους ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς Κονσταντινούπολιν μετῴκιζεν ὁ Κρατῶν. Here then we learn that the Tzakonians were in great numbers in the aforesaid fleet, that they were warlike men, that they were from the Moréa, and that they had been transported to Constantinople with their wives and children.

Pachymeres, in mentioning the *western* parts, seems to point to the Mainote country on the Gulf of Calamata; but the term Western is used by the Byzantine writers, not for the purpose of more specifically denoting a part of the Moréa, but with reference to Byzantium as a general designation of regions to the west of that city: in connexion with the Moréa, therefore, it is only a general epithet. Immediately after this we are told that the emperor, convinced that Byzantium could only be maintained by acquiring complete mastery of the seas, collected robust and able seamen and rowers all along the coasts, παντα χοῦ τῶν κατ' αἰγιαλοὺς χωρῶν, and took them into his service. Michael Palæologus reigned from 1262 to 1283; the expedition to the Moréa took place in 1264: it is therefore about the middle of the thirteenth century that the name of the Tzakonians emerged from obscurity as that of a maritime, numerous, and brave people.

Is it not more likely that both these Byzantine authors alluded to the Maniátes, who were a maritime and a piratical people? whereas the Tzákones were and still are cultivators of the land, pastors, and traders; preserving, indeed, the brave independent character common to the mountaineers of Greece, but by no means resembling the Tzákones of Constantinople in the 13th century, or their companions

the Gasmuli, who recommended themselves to Michael Palæologus as daring seamen, likely to be useful to him in his projected expedition for the recovery of Greece. It may be difficult perhaps to attach a precise idea to the words of Pachymer, ἔκ τε Μορέου καὶ τῶν δυτικῶν μερῶν, but we can hardly confine their import to the north-eastern part of *Laconia*; for it is evident from the anonymous Metrical Chronicle of the Wars of the Franks in the Morea in the 13th century, that Tzakonía had then a much wider signification. Even as late as the beginning of the 18th century we find the Venetians applying the name Zaccunia to all the ancient Laccnia, including Mani. There remains, therefore, the strongest reason to believe that the Λάκωνες or Τζάκωνες mentioned by Pachymer and Gregoras consisted chiefly of Maniátes. We may add, that an ancient language is much more likely to be preserved among secluded mountaineers than among a people of adventurous seamen.

It was not until three centuries later than the time of Michael Palæologus, that the Tzákones became known to the learned of Europe as speaking a dialect different from other Greeks. Stephen Gerlach, who in the year 1574 was attached to the embassy sent by the Emperor Maximilian II. to Constantinople, wrote as follows to his friend Martin Crusius: "Omnes (Græci) quorumcumque locorum se intelligunt, exceptis Ionibus qui in Peloponneso inter Naupliam et Monembasiam quatuordecim pagos inhabitantes antiquâ linguâ, sed multifariam in grammaticam peccante, utuntur, qui gram-

maticè loquentem intelligunt, vulgarem vero linguam minimè. Hi Zacones vulgo dicuntur[1]."

Gerlach, however, not having obtained his information in the Peloponnesus, is not entitled to much confidence; and his remark, that the Tzákones understood the ancient and not the modern Greek, seems to be nothing more than such an exaggerated report of the preservation of ancient forms or words in Tzakonía, as the traveller often encounters in parts of Greece distant from that district. So remote is it from the truth, that the Tzákones, instead of deriving assistance in a knowledge of Hellenic from their own dialect, remain among the most unlettered of the Moreï'tes. But the designation of *Ions*, which Gerlach gives to the Tzákones, is very curious as agreeing with Herodotus, who states, that of the seven nations inhabiting the Peloponnesus, the Cynurii and Arcadians had never changed their abode, and that the Cynurii alone were Ionians[2]. M. Thiersch accordingly discovers traces of *Ionism* in the Tzakonic, in the softness and attenuation of the forms, in the elision and lapses of the consonants, the amplification of the vowels, the separation of the diphthongs, and in several cases the re-opening of the contraction, as in the subjunctive ἐὰν γεννάη, ἐὰν κινάη, &c.; in the avoiding of closed terminations, as ὁ ὄνο for ὁ ὄνος, γράφομε for γράφομες, resembling the open termination in the mouth of the Pseudartabas in Aristophanes, οὐ λῆψι

[1] M. Crusii Turco-Græcia, p. 489.

[2] οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι, αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες, δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες. Herodot. 8, 73.

χρῦσο χαννόπρωκτ' Ἰαοναῦ[1]. Ionic, therefore, according to M. Thiersch, was the original dialect of Cynuria, and the Tzakonic is its descendant; the Dorisms found in the latter being merely adventitious, and having been added to the original Ionic in consequence of the position of Cynuria, surrounded by the Dorians of Laconia and Argeia. "But," adds M. Thiersch, "not only is the Ionian of this language very peculiar and associated with Doric materials, but behind both there may be detected analogies and formations more ancient than Ionism and Dorism, and we may say, beyond all Greek with which we are acquainted by writing or tradition. The Cynurian Ionic is no derivative, no branch of any other Ionic dialect, nor of the Achaico-Epic, nor of the Attic, nor of the Ionic of Asia, but an original stock, sprung directly from the fountain-head, and more consistent than the others, because it has neither been committed to writing nor has undergone development and polish,—the two means through which languages chiefly suffer alteration. That most peculiar and antique personal inflection which opens to us a glimpse of the internal growth and structure of the tongue, is no where found in any ancient Hellenic dialect, but carries us back to a time when Greek of every denomination and Latin flowed from a common source, and presupposes a great parent-tongue from which both languages descended, namely, the Pelasgic."

[1] Acharn. 104.

VOL. ii. p. 510.

Réonda (τὰ Ῥέοντα) derives its name apparently from its standing at the *sources* of the chief branch of the river of St. Andrew. On the eastern side of the hill of Réonda is the plain of Paleakhóra, watered by a stream flowing from south to north into a katavóthra. Mr. Finlay describes the chasm as so deep and abrupt that it is impossible to descend into it without ropes. A body of water is heard flowing below. The emissary is supposed by the natives to be in the sea between Ai Andhréa and Tyró. There are some ancient foundations near the entrance of the chasm.

VOL. ii. p. 512.

From the Supplement to vol. ii. p. 492, the reader will have understood that I no longer adhere to the opinion given in vol. ii. p. 510, that "the route of Pausanias led through the pass of Kastánitza[1];" though I still consider that Kastánitza and its surrounding district formed, together with those of Plátano and Sítena, the territory of the ancient *Eva*. The boundaries of *Cynuria* being well defined by the summits of *Parnon* and the rivers of Luku and Ai Andhréa, which embrace it on every side except that of the sea; and the respective positions of the territories of *Thyrea*, *Anthene*, and *Neris*

[1] The observations in vol. ii. pp. 523, seq., founded upon this supposition, will require, therefore, to be cancelled.

being clearly indicated by the ruins of those cities, there remains no portion of the country which can be assigned to *Eva*, except that around Plátano, Sítena, and Kastánitza. The exact site of *Eva* may hereafter, perhaps, be determined by the discovery of some Hellenic remains. Stephanus has described a town of Argolis, named Eunæa, as inhabited by Cynurii [1], and he places Eva in Arcadia. In neither of these is he supported by any other writer; but Eva of Cynuria may perhaps have been the place intended in both instances, and his error may have been partly caused by there having been a Cynuria in Arcadia [2] as well as in Argolis. A coin of the Achæan League, proving that Eva once formed a part of that confederacy [3], is of no service on this question, further than as it shows the importance of Eva, in which it agrees with Pausanias, who describes Eva as the greatest of the Cynurian towns, and here alone makes mention of a temple [4].

If the river of Luku be the *Tanus*, the Kani, or at least its western branch, may have been the river *Charadrus* which Statius describes as flowing in a long valley near Neris [5]; for this river rises in the heights near the ruins, which I have supposed to be those of Neris.

[1] Εὐναὶ . . . . ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἄργους Εὐναία, ἣν ᾤκουν Κυνούριοι. Stephan. in v. [2] Pausan. Arcad. 27, 3 (4).

[3] Mionnet, Médailles Ant. Supp. iv. p. 9.

[4] τρίτη δὲ Εὔα, μεγίστη τῶν κωμῶν καὶ ἱερὸν Πολεμοκράτους ἐστὶν ἐν ταύτῃ. Corinth. 38, 6.

[5] Quæque pavet longa spumantem valle Charadrum
Neris. Stat. Theb. 4, 46.

VOL. ii. p. 515.

Having already remarked that the *Hermæ*, on the road from *Thyrea* to *Sparta*, which marked the junction of the *Tegeatis*, *Argeia*, and *Laconice*, are to be placed between St. Peter's and Arákhova, on some part of the ridge from whence flow, in three adverse directions, tributaries of the *Alpheius*, *Tanus*, and *Eurotas*, it will follow that the ancient remains at Mármara cannot be those of the temple of *Jupiter Scotitas* mentioned by Pausanias; but they appear to have been the ruins of a building of the same kind, standing probably on the line of another ancient road, or that which led from *Braseæ* and *Eva* towards *Sparta*. On this route it is observable that the forests are of fir, whereas those on the ancient road from Thyrea to Sparta were, according to Pausanias, of oak (δρῦς). Five centuries before his time a forest appears to have covered the western slopes of Parnon, almost as far as Sparta[1]. It is poorly represented at present by scattered trees, chiefly of ilex.

VOL. ii. p. 522.

From the extract of Pausanias wherein he describes the situations of Caryæ and Sellasia, we learn, that beyond the Hermæ, which marked the common boundary of Tegeatis, Cynuria, and Laconia, the εὐθεῖα or road from Thyrea to Sellasia and Sparta had, first,

[1] Polyb. 16, 37. Liv. 35, 30. Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 525.

the temple of Jupiter Scotitas to the left; secondly, a statue of Hercules with a trophy to the left; and, thirdly, Caryæ to the right[1]. The only distance given by Pausanias is that of the temple of Jupiter, ten stades to the left of the road. We remain ignorant of the distance from the Hermæ, and from each other of the three points where roads diverged from the main route, except that the turning to the Hercules was not far beyond that to the temple of Scotitas. We are equally uninformed of the distance of Caryæ from the main route, of the distance of the turning to Caryæ from Sellasia, and of the distance of Sellasia from Sparta. The important position of *Sellasia*, therefore, remains uncertain. The French Geographers have placed it at the Khan of Krevatá in one of the principal passes on the modern route from Tripolitzá to Mistrá, where they remarked many vestiges on the height which incloses the valley on the south, and the remains of a sacellum

[1] Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας δρυῶν πλήρης· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ Σκοτίταν οὐ τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν δένδρων ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν ἔσχε Σκοτίτας καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ δέκα μάλιστά που στάδια ἐκτραπομένοις ἱερὸν Σκοτίτα Διός. ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προελθοῦσιν ὀλίγον καὶ τραπεῖσιν αὖθις ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους καὶ τρόπαιον· ἀναστῆσαι δὲ ἐλέγετο Ἡρακλῆς ἀποκτείνας Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας· τρίτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εὐθείας ἐκβολὴ κατὰ τὰ δεξιὰ ἐς Καρύας ἄγει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστὶν αἱ Κάρυαι, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἔστηκεν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Καρυάτιδος· χοροὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων παρθένοι κατὰ ἔτος ἱστᾶσι καὶ ἐπιχώριος αὐταῖς καθέστηκεν ὄρχησις· ἀναστρέψαντι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἰόντι ἐρείπια Σελλασίας ἐστί. . . . . ἐν δὲ Θόρνακι (ἐς γὰρ τοῦτον ἀφίξῃ προϊών) ἄγαλμά ἐστι Πυθαέως Ἀπόλλωνος . . . . . Ἀπὸ δὲ Θόρνακος προελθόντι ἔστιν ἡ πόλις, Σπάρτη, &c. Pausan. Lacon. 10, 7 (6); 11, 1.

near the road[1]: but I am still inclined to the opinion that *Sellasia* stood at the monastery of the Forty Saints; the peculiar situation of which relatively to the surrounding country, combined with the vestiges of antiquity which I there observed, prove it, no less than the Khan of Krevatá, to have been the site of a place occupying one of the most important military points in the approach to *Sparta*, and thus equally well adapted to be the position of *Sellasia*. No fortifications such as were common in other parts of Greece are to be traced either at the Forty Saints or at the Khan of Krevatá; but probably neither Sellasia nor Caryæ was ever fortified. Sellasia was a ruin in the time of Pausanias, and Caryæ nothing more than a temple of Diana, the scene of an annual festival.

The geographical structure of the country, and the direction of the passes, leave no doubt that the ancient road from Tegea to Sparta coincided with the present route from Tripolitzá to Mistrá, on which the Khan of Krevatá is one of the resting-places. But there is reason to believe that Sellasia was not on the direct road from Sparta to Tegea, although it was certainly at no great distance from Sparta on one of the routes to the northward. When Titus Quinctius, in the year B.C. 195, marched from Argos against Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, he crossed Mount Parthenius, and, passing Tegea, (in the course of the second day's march,) encamped on the third day at Caryæ within the enemy's territory[2]. Three

[1] Boblaye, Rech. Géogr. sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 74.

[2] Liv. 34, 26.

years afterwards, Philopœmen, acting at the head of the forces of the Achæan League against Nabis, marched from Tegea to Caryæ, moved forward from thence to Mount Barbosthenes, which was ten miles[1] from Sparta, and defeated Nabis near that place, between which and Sparta there was another strong position, called Pyrrhi Castra[2]. From these circumstances we may infer that Caryæ, Barbosthenes, and Pyrrhi Castra were in the direct road from Tegea to Sparta, and not Sellasia. Hence, also, the probability arises, that the Khan of Krevatá was the position of *Caryæ*, and that the height immediately southward of it was Mount Barbosthenes, its direct distance of six G.M. from Sparta agreeing with the ten M.P. by the road of Livy.

The passes, in which the contest between Philopœmen and Nabis occurred, are described by Livy as the ravine of a torrent, so narrow that the army of Philopœmen occupied a line of five miles, when it was met by Nabis between Barbosthenes and Pyrrhi Castra. This description is in agreement with the defile in which stands the Khan of Vurliá, and through which the modern road from Tripolitzá to Mistrá descends to the *Eurotas*, and, after having crossed it, follows its right bank to *Sparta*[3]. On the day following his defeat, Nabis, fearing that his adversary would turn his position, and cut him off from Sparta, began to retreat; upon which Philo-

[1] Probably eighty stades in Polybius, from whom Livy derived his narrative.

[2] Liv. 35, 27. See Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 525.

[3] Travels in Moréa, i. p. 125.

pœmen attacked and defeated the enemy's rear-guard, and threw all the retreating forces into such confusion, that great numbers of them threw away their arms, and took refuge in the woods on either side of the narrow way. From thence they endeavoured during the night, after passing the camp of Philopœmen, to gain Sparta by the two roads leading to the gates of Barbosthenes and Pheræ. But Philopœmen, having foreseen this intention, had already occupied the two routes with his troops, who thus killed or captured so many of the enemy, that scarcely a fourth part of the army of Nabis escaped. Philopœmen then invested Sparta, and overran Laconia during thirty days. A comparison of this narrative with the map confirms the position which I have assigned to Caryæ and Mount Barbosthenes, and leads to the probability that Pyrrhi Castra was at or near the junction of the Œnus and Eurotas, and that Vérria, as I before observed, stands on the site of Pheræ [1].

Pyrrhi Castra we may presume to have been so named from having been the place of encampment of Pyrrhus of Epirus, when he besieged Sparta in the year B.C. 272, shortly before his death at Argos [2].

Tegea bears due north from *Sparta;* and the route from the one to the other was almost in a direct line. But Polybius, one of the best possible testimonies on this question, expressly states

[1] Tr. in Morea, ii. p. 515, note a. Βέρροια was the Macedonian form of Φεραί, and may have been the Laconian form also prior to the Doric conquest of Laconia.

[2] Plutarch, Pyrrh. 26. Pausan. Attic. 13, 6. Lacon. 28, 3. Justin. 25, 4.

that Sellasia was to the north-*eastward* of Sparta[1]; and the same fact not less clearly appears from Xenophon, who relates that when Epaminondas invaded Laconia in the year B.C. 369, he advanced from Sellasia to Thornax, which Pausanias places between Sellasia and Sparta[2]; and that soon afterwards the Thebans made their appearance before Sparta, separated only from the city by the Eurotas[3]. They seem evidently, therefore, to have approached Sparta from the eastward, or on the opposite bank to that on which Philopœmen invested the city. The route of Pausanias to Sparta tends to the same conclusion as to the situation of Sellasia: having entered Laconia, from Cynuria, at the Hermæ, he leaves Caryæ, the frontier town of Laconia towards the Tegeatis, to his right, proceeds to Sellasia, and from thence by Thornax to Sparta. I conclude, therefore, that the road from the Thyreatis to Sparta, upon which Sellasia stood, lay wholly to the eastward of that from Tegea to Sparta; and that from the site of the *Hermæ* of the triple frontier, it passed near Barbítza and Basará to the Forty Saints.

It is evident, on examining the map, that if a post at the Khan of Krevatá was of the first importance on the road from *Tegea* to *Sparta*, the position of the Forty Saints or *Sellasia* was equally so on the route from the *Thyreatis*, *Cynuria*, and all the north-eastern extremity of *Laconia*. The geological struc-

[1] ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐρώτας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Σελλασίαν κεῖται τῆς Σπάρτης ὡς πρὸς τὰς θερινὰς ἀνατολάς. Polyb. 16, 16.

[2] Pausan. Lacon. 10, 10 (8).

[3] Xenoph. Hellen. 6, 5, § 27. Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 143.

ture of the country shows a probability that at or near the position of the Forty Saints, the roads to Sparta from all the cities in those directions united, and we have a practical illustration of the fact in the position taken up by Cleomenes at Sellasia for the defence of Sparta, when expecting the approach of Antigonus from Argos. The *Hermæ*, on the route from Argos to Sparta by *Thyrea*, having been near Arákhova, Antigonus naturally followed the branch of the *Œnus* which flows from Arákhova and Vrestená, and which unites with the other branch a little westward of the Forty Saints, there forming the single stream now called Kelefína, and anciently *Œnus*, which joins the *Eurotas* one mile northward of the bridge of *Sparta*. On arriving at the junction of the river of Vrestená, which I suppose to have been the *Gorgylus*, with the *Œnus*, he found himself in presence of Cleomenes, who, after having guarded and obstructed the other approaches to Sparta[1], had entrenched his army on the two mountains rising from either side of the united river, along which led the road to Sparta; himself, with the Spartans, on Mount Olympus to the right, while his brother, Eucleidas, held Mount Eva to the left, with the perioeci and auxiliaries. There was no place where Antigonus could have disposed his infantry but along the left bank of the Gorgylus; here, therefore, he encamped, having his cavalry in the valley adjoining the junction of the rivers, where also was posted the cavalry of the enemy. Antigonus was superior in numbers by 8000, but this superiority

[1] φυλακαῖς καὶ τάφροις καὶ δένδρων ἐκκοπαῖς. Polyb. 2, 65.

was more than compensated by the strength of the position of Cleomenes. Nevertheless, he was attacked and completely defeated by Antigonus, who was aided by three fortunate circumstances: 1. the promptitude of Philopœmen in attacking without orders the Lacedæmonian cavalry, which threatened to prevent the Illyrians, who formed the right wing of Antigonus, from advancing against Eucleidas; 2. the negligence of Eucleidas in allowing the Illyrians to attack him on the summit of Eva, instead of meeting them on the declivity; and, 3. the irresistible weight of the Macedonian phalanx in the final attack which they made upon the Spartans in the presence of the two kings upon Mount Olympus[1].

In addition to the preceding arguments in favour of placing *Sellasia* at the Forty Saints, and not at the Khan of Krevatá, we ought not to omit the consideration, that the narrative of Polybius requires on the scene of the battle of Sellasia the junction of two *rivers*[2]; and that he describes the Gorgylus as a ποταμός: whereas at the Khan of Krevatá, although the river of Vrestená may be presumed to have been the *Œnus*, there is nothing but a very small torrent to represent the *Gorgylus*.

It will follow from the placing of *Sellasia* at A'ghii Saránda, and *Caryæ* at the Khan of Krevatá, that the mountain marked *Thornax* in the French map was not Thornax, but the southern extremity of *Barbosthenes*, and that the ruined temple observed by the French Surveyors on the heights, two miles

[1] Travels in Moréa, ii. p. 526.

[2] Polyb. 2, 65. Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 527.

to the N.E. of Sparta, is probably that of Apollo Pythaëus on Mount Thornax [1].

On the summit, to the south of the Khan of Krevatá, distant $1\frac{1}{2}$ G.M. south from thence, which I have supposed to be the ancient Mount Barbosthenes, the French map marks some "Ruins:" these have been visited by Professor Ross, of Athens, who supposes them to be remains of *Sellasia* [2]. To this we may object, 1. That they are too distant from the valley at the Khan of Krevatá, in which M. Ross, as well as the French geographers, suppose the battle of *Sellasia* to have been fought. 2. That if these be remains of *Sellasia*, *Caryæ* must have stood to the northwestward of this site in the midst of the desert hills of *Sciritis*, where not a single modern village occurs, nor any situation in which Caryæ can with any degree of probability be placed. It is more likely that the ruins in question are those of Barbosthenes, which appears to have been a town or fortress, as well as a mountain, by its having given name to one of the northern gates of Sparta [3].

[1] Pausan. Lacon. 10, 10 (8).—The statue of Apollo Pythaëus resembled that of Apollo Amyclæus, which was nothing more than a column of brass, between forty and fifty feet high, with a head, hands, and feet. The face was of gold; this gold had been presented to the Lacedæmonians by Crœsus, and was intended for the statue at Thornax, but was applied to that of Amyclæ. Herodot. 1, 69. Athen. 6, 4.

[2] Annali del' Inst. di Corr. Archæologica, viii. p. 15.

[3] Duarum portarum quæ Pheras, quæque Barbosthenem ferunt. Liv. 35, 30.

VOL. ii. p. 532.

The passage of Athenæus here cited in reference to the situation of Œnus, although unfortunately corrupt, is still not unworthy of some notice, as supplying the names of some Laconian places on the authority of the ancient Spartan poet, Alcman[1]. Carystus, here said by Athenæus to have been near Arcadia, is stated by Strabo, in reference to the same passage in Alcman, to have been in the Ægytis[2], the situation of which on the south-western frontier of Arcadia has already been shown[3]. *Carystus* stood probably at the Kaly'via of Ghiorghítzi described in Travels in the Moréa, iii. p. 18. Three of the other places named by Alcman appear to have been suburban villages; for Pentelophi was no more than seven stades distant from Sparta, and Onogli and Stathmi, having been near Pitane, were probably still nearer to the city.

Œnus, described as a small town of Laconia[4],

[1] Ἀλκμὰν δέ που ἄπυρον οἶνον καὶ ἄνθεος ὄσδοντα φησὶ, τὸν ἐκ Πέντε λόφων (ὅς ἐστι τόπος Σπάρτης ἀπέχων σταδίους ἑπτὰ) καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δενθιάδων (ἐρύματός τινος), καὶ τὸν ἐξ Οἰνοῦντος καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ὀνόγλων καὶ Σταθμῶν. (χωρία δὲ ταῦτα τὰ καὶ (κεῖται?) πλησίον Πιτάνης) . . . . καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καρύστου, ὅς ἐστι πλησίον Ἀρκαδίας· ἄπυρον δὲ εἶπε τὸν οὐχ ἑψημένον· ἐχρῶντο γὰρ ἑφθοῖς οἴνοις. Athen. 1, 24.

[2] Κάρυστος δέ ἐστι καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ, τόπος τῆς Ἀΐγυος πρὸς Ἀρκαδίαν, ἀφ' οὗ Καρύστιον οἶνον Ἀλκμὰν εἴρηκε. Strabo, p. 446. Stephan. in Κάρυστος.

[3] See above, p. 234, and Tr. in Moréa, ii. p. 322.

[4] Οἰνοῦς, πολίχνιον Λακωνικῆς, ὡς Ἀνδροτίων καὶ Δίδυμος. Stephan. in v.

occupied, perhaps, as I have already remarked, the site of Tzítzina; the ancient name having doubtless been derived from the wine alluded to by Alcman, and the district of Tzítzina abounding in vineyards. Moreover, this place stands at the sources of one of the two principal branches of the river, which joins the *Eurotas* at a mile to the northward of *Sparta*, and is unquestionably the ancient *Œnus*, now called Kelefína.

If the branch from Arákhova and Vrestená was the *Gorgylus*, as I have given some reasons for believing, that which is formed from the rivers of Tzítzina and Agrianós was the *Œnus;* and this will be confirmed if we identify the monastery of the Forty Saints with *Sellasia*, that position being nearer to the branch from Tzítzina and Agrianós than to the junction of this river with that of Arákhova and Vrestená.

That the town *Œnus* was not below the junction of the two branches is rendered probable by its having been, like Sellasia itself, a subordinate town of Laconia, which, on that supposition, would have stood between the capital and Sellasia,—a circumstance very unlikely, as the distance between the Forty Saints and the site of *Sparta* in a direct line is not more than three miles, and we have the names of some of the ancient intermediate places, and apparently on two different routes.

Denthias or Denthiades appears to have received its name, like Œnus, from its principal agricultural production, the vine[1]. There is nothing else to

[1] Δένθις. οἶνος. Λάκωνες. Hesych. in v. The name of the Dentheliatis, or district of Denthelia, on the left bank of the

assist in identifying the site, except its having been a fortress, and probably therefore in a strong position.

Pausanias, between Sparta and Sellasia, notices only the sanctuary of Jupiter Pythaëus at Thornax; but we learn from another authority, that at Thornax there were habitations, as well as a mountain or hill, of that name[1]: it appears also from Zeno, as reported by Polybius, that between Sparta and Sellasia occurred a defile named the Straits of Poliasium[2]. The river, the hill, and the straits, are

Pamisus, which contained Limnæ, had doubtless the same origin.

[1] Θόρναξ· ὄρος τῆς Λακωνικῆς. Νικόλαος δ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Θορνάκιος. Stephan. in v.

[2] Ἐν ᾧ φησιν ὁ Ζήνων, ὁρμήσαντα τὸν Νάβιν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ διαβάντα τὸν Εὐρώταν ποταμὸν παρὰ τὸν Ὀπλίτην (probably a statue on the bank of the Eurotas) προσαγορευόμενον, πορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς στενῆς παρὰ τὸ Πολιάσιον, ἕως ἐπὶ τοὺς κατὰ Σελλασίαν ἀφίκετο τόπους· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ Θαλάμας ἐπιβαλόντα κατὰ Φάρας παραγενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Πάμισον ποταμόν. Polyb. 16, 16.

Polybius cites these words of Zeno, as one among several examples of that ignorance of geography, and preference of an elegant style to truth, with which he reproaches the Rhodian historian. Zeno had represented Nabis as having marched from Sparta to Sellasia in his way into Messenia,—a blunder of Zeno, the more ridiculous as it was preceded by a particular description of the short distance from Sparta to Sellasia, which appears to have been correct, as Polybius makes no objection to it. The sequel is amusing, and quite of a modern character. Polybius, who had been a witness of many of the events recorded by him, and was anxious for the truth of history, wrote to Zeno, pointing out the error which he had committed, when Zeno returned his thanks for the information, with expressions of regret that it was no longer available, his work being already published. We may congratulate ourselves, that a portion of the

natural features, which it may be possible to recognize, although no remains of Thornax or Poliasium may exist. That the French surveyors have not discovered any of these places, is not surprising, because having placed *Sellasia* at the Khan of Krevatá, they would have sought for them (if they ever adverted to the passage of Polybius, which relates to them,) in a different direction.

facts of Polybius, however ungracefully related, have escaped the wreck of ancient literature, rather than the elegant inaccuracies of Zeno and Antisthenes.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

VOL. iii. p. 4.

CONCERNING the ancient Treasury near Vafió here mentioned, Mr. Mure states as follows: "The name Baphió was marked on my map, so that I had no great difficulty in finding the site of the 'Treasury' about a mile to the south of the tower. It is, like that of Mycenæ, a tumulus, with an interior vault entered by a door on one side, the access to which was pierced horizontally through the slope of the hill. Its situation on the summit of a knoll, itself of rather conical form, while it increases the apparent size of the tumulus, adds much to its general loftiness and grandeur of effect. The roof of the vault, with the greater part of its material, is now gone, its shape being represented by a round cavity or crater on the summit of the tumulus: Count Capo d'Istria enjoys the credit of its destruction. The doorway is still entire: it is six feet wide at its upper and narrower part. The stone lintel is 15 feet in length. The vault itself was probably between 30 and 40 feet in diameter[1]."

[1] Tour in Greece, ii. p. 246.

It is surprising that the French Surveyors have given no description or drawing of this singular monument. M. Boblaye says no more than, "On indique dans la plaine des ruines aux villages de Vaphió et de Marmália; nous avons vu des tumulus très-remarquables bordant la rive droite de l'Eurotas au sud de ces deux villages, ils renferment, dit-on, des tombeaux tels que ceux de Mycènes."

Mr. Mure's description, therefore, is the only one we possess of this interesting monument, the resemblance of which to those of Erchomenus and Mycenæ carries back its antiquity to the time of Menelaus, and leaves no doubt as to the site of Phare, one of the Laconian cities which flourished before the Doric occupation. The name, changed only from the Phare of Homer to Pharis, was still attached to the site in the time of Strabo and Pausanias, whose remarks concerning it accord perfectly with this situation[1]. Mr. Mure adds, "Menelaus is said to have been buried at Amyclæ; this (monument) therefore may have been the royal vault of the Spartan branch, as the Mycenæan monument was of the Argive branch of the Atreidan family." But Amyclæ, even if placed, according to the French geographers, at Sklavokhóri, was more than two miles distant from the tumulus near Vafió, and four or five if Amyclæ stood, as I believe, at Aghía Kyriakí. And there is

[1] Ὑποπέπτωκε δὲ τῷ Ταϋγέτῳ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐν μεσογαίᾳ καὶ Ἀμύκλαι, οὗ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν καὶ ἡ Φάρις. Strabo, p. 363.

Διαβᾶσι δὲ αὐτόθεν ποταμὸν Φελλίαν παρὰ Ἀμύκλας, ἰοῦσιν εὐθεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, Φᾶρις πόλις ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ποτὲ ᾤκειτο. Pausan. Lacon. 20, 3.

strong reason for believing that the structure was not a sepulchre, but a treasury [1].

It is supposed, in Travels in Morea, vol. iii. p. 4, that "the river now called Takhúrti, which joins the *Eurotas* a little above Vafió, is the *Phellia*, as being the most considerable stream in the plain, next to the *Tiasa* southward." In page 165 of the present volume will be found the correction of this opinion. There can scarcely be a question that the *Phellia* is the river which flows between the sites of *Alesiæ* and *Amyclæ:* the Takhúrti therefore is unnoticed in history; but the name is of Hellenic origin, and appears to be derived from ταχὺς.

Vol. iii. p. 5.

Of the nine cities of Laconia, enumerated by Homer, namely, Phare, Sparte, Messe, Bryseiæ, Augeiæ, Amyclæ, Helos, Las, and Œtylus[2]: the site of Messe alone remains undetermined. The order of names being generally, though not strictly, from north to south, we may presume to have been arranged by the poet, as usual in his catalogue, with a view to locality, unless when it interfered too much with metrical convenience.

[1] See above, p. 256.

[2] Οἳ δ' εἶχον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν,
Φάρην τε, Σπάρτην τε, πολυτρήρωνά τε Μέσσην,
Βρυσειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο, καὶ Αὐγειὰς ἐρατεινὰς,
Οἵ τ' ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἶχον, Ἕλος τ' ἔφαλον πτολίεθρον,
Οἵ τε Λάαν εἶχον, ἠδ' Οἴτυλον ἀμφενέμοντο.
Hom. B. 581.

The latter consideration we may suppose to have caused the transposition of Augeiæ and Amyclæ; for the former city having been near Gythium, and the latter near Sparta, it is evident that if local arrangement alone had been considered, Ἀμύκλαι would have been placed as nearly as possible to Φάρη, Σπάρτη, or Βρυσεῖαι. With this exception, the arrangement of all the nine names is sufficiently topographical to justify our searching for Messe in the northern part of the great Spartan valley. Here the north-western angle alone remains unoccupied by a Homeric city, and here, therefore, some reason exists for believing that *Messe* was situated.

Mistrá, favoured with a plentiful supply of water, and possessing a natural fortress, which commands the entrance into Mount *Taygetus* from the northern end of the plain, is such a position as we cannot conceive to have been neglected by the Greeks. And of all the ancient sites in the Lacedæmonian valley, it is far the best adapted to the epithet πολυτρήρων, or abounding in pigeons[1]; these birds inhabit in great numbers the cavities of the rocks of Mistrá, in the same manner as at *Thisbe* in *Bœotia*, to which place Homer has applied the same epithet[2].

Strabo confesses, that the position of Messe was unknown; but he warns us against confounding it with Messa, one of the component κῶμαι of Sparta, which gave name to the tribe of Messoatæ[3]. Some

[1] . . . . . volucrumque parens Cythereia Messe.
Stat. Theb. 4, 226.

[2] Il. B. v. 502.

[3] Strabo, p. 364.

critics, supposed Messe to have been an abbreviation of Messene; but there can be little doubt that Μεσσήνη like Λακεδαίμων, Ἦλις, Ἄργος, was originally the name of a portion of the Peloponnesus; that it was not until a chief city in each of those countries arose, that the names were applied to cities, and that Μεσσήνη consequently was not so employed until the fourth century before the Christian æra.

Messa, now Mezapó, on the western coast of Mani, had from the identity of name a better title to be considered the Homeric Messe [1]. Messa, although not mentioned by any other writer, is described by Pausanias as a πόλις καὶ λιμήν [2]: there is great difficulty, however, in believing that a place, which, from its situation, could never have been of much importance, should have been one of the nine Laconic cities; two of which, namely, Las, occupying the best district on the eastern side of the great Laconian promontory, and Œtylus on the western, seem quite a sufficient proportion for that promontory, the least fertile part of Laconia.

Assuming Mistrá to have been the position of

[1] Tr. in Moréa, p. 286. I have here referred to an inscription which I found at Mistrá, containing the word ΜΕΣΣΙΟΣ; I suppose it to be the Gentile of ΜΕΣΣΗ; but it may be no more than a proper name. Even in this case, however, it is not altogether unworthy of remark with a reference to the site of Messe. In Tr. in Moréa, i. p. 287, I cited Stephanus to show that Μέσσιος was the Gentile of Μέσση; this, however, it is right to observe, is only an inference from Μεσσήνιος, Messe according to Stephanus having been a form of Messene.

[2] Lacon. 25, 7 (10).

Messe, we overcome that difficulty in placing the ancient names of Mount *Taygetus*, which arises from Pausanias having neglected to give any intimation of the direction in which he proceeds from Eleusinium to Harpleia[1]. If Mistrá was *Messe*, it seems clear that his course must have been southward; since, had it

[1] Tr. in Morea, iii. p. 2. 5. The following is as much of the passage in Pausanias as describes the middle region of Taygetus on the eastern side :—

"Ακρα δὲ τοῦ Ταϋγέτου Ταλετὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει ταύτην Ἡλίου καλοῦσιν ἱερὰν, καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἡλίῳ θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας· Ταλετοῦ δὲ οὐ πόῤῥω καλούμενός ἐστιν Εὐόρας, θηρία καὶ ἄλλα τρέφων καὶ αἶγας μάλιστα ἀγρίας· παρέχεται δὲ καὶ δι' ὅλου τὸ Ταΰγετον τῶν αἰγῶν τούτων ἄγραν καὶ ὑῶν, πλείστην δὲ καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ ἄρκτων. Ταλετοῦ δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ καὶ Εὐόρα Θήρας ὀνομάζο[ντες Λήτω φάσιν ἀπὸ*] τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Ταϋγέτου . . . . . Δήμητρος ἐπίκλησιν Ἐλευσινίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλέα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρυφθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπίου τὸ τραῦμα ἰώμενον· καὶ Ὀρφέως ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ξόανον, Πελασγῶν, ὥς φασιν, ἔργον. . . . . Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου σταδίους ἀφέστηκε Λαπίθαιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐγχωρίου Λαπίθου. τοῦτό τε οὖν Λαπίθαιόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Ταϋγέτῳ καὶ οὐ πόῤῥω Δέῤῥιον, ἔνθα Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Δερῥιάτιδος καὶ πηγὴ παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν Ἄνωνον ὀνομάζουσι· μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δέῤῥιον σταδίους προελθόντι ὡς εἰκοσιν, ἔστιν Ἅρπλεια καθήκοντα ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου. Pausan. Lacon. 20, 5 (4) seq.

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* Instead of the words between brackets, the vulgar reading is ὀνομάζουσιν. οὐ πόῤῥω δὲ, without any lacuna after Ταϋγέτου. The former reading has been adopted by Bekker, from the Moscow MS., and he proposes to fill up the lacuna with the words θεᾶσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἐνταῦθα θηρεύουσαν· καί. The lacuna may possibly have been still longer. Instead of καὶ we should read perhaps οὐ πόῤῥω, [or ὑποκάτω,] δὲ τῶν ἄκρων τοῦ Ταϋγέτου, the repetition of the latter words having caused, as in many similar instances, the omission of the transcribers.

been northward, he could not have emerged into the plain at any other place than Mistrá, which, in that case, would correspond with his *Harpleia.* From the words τῶν ἄκρων in the plural, as well as the name Evoras, it is evident that Evoras was one of the summits of Taygetus, though Taletum was probably the highest peak, now known by the name of Makrynó or St. Elias[1], as we cannot well suppose the sacrifice of horses to the Sun to have occurred at any but the highest. Supposing this to have been *Taletum,* it is difficult to conceive that *Evoras* could have been any other than Mount Paximádhi, distant 4 geographical miles in the direction of south 56° west from the castle of Mistrá; this being a very remarkable summit, and the highest next to St. Elias, and over which a road leads from Mistrá to Pigádhia, the highest village on the western face of the mountain. It must be confessed, that the distance of this summit from St. Elias, 5½ geographical miles, is hardly consistent with the οὐ πόῤῥω, by which Pausanias indicates the distance between Taletum and Evoras; but, on the other hand, that distance seems not more than sufficient for the Theræ or hunting-grounds of Diana, (where her mother Latona beheld her at the chace from the heights of Taygetus), as the Theræ extended only from the one summit to the other. The forty or forty-five stades of interval between the temple of *Ceres Eleusinia,* and *Harpleia,* agrees with the dis-

[1] Makrynó is a name applied to the whole of the highest ridge, as well as to the summit; Saint Elias, to the summit alone.

tance between Dhipotamó or Polianá, and Xerokambí, and favours the opinion that near the two former villages stood the *Eleusinium*, and at the latter *Harpleia*. Xerokambí accords with the description of Harpleia by Pausanias, as being at the entrance of the plain, while the ancient bridge over the Rasína[1], near Xerokambí, and the modern road there entering the mountains, attest, that this was one of the ancient, as it is also one of the natural entrances into the middle *Taygetan* district from the plain, the two others having been at *Messe* and *Bryseæ*. The French Commission observed a remarkable source of water between Gumistá and Xerokambí, which may possibly be the fountain *Anonus* at *Derrhium*, though it must be admitted that the distance between it and the plain at Xerokambí, is scarcely sufficient, on the supposition of the latter having been the site of *Harpleia*. But until the middle region of *Taygetus* is better examined, it will be impossible to form any decided opinion upon this question, or upon that of the sites of *Lapithæum* and *Eleusinium*.

VOL. iii. p. 6, et seq.

The true delineation of the north-eastern portion of *Laconia*, now first supplied by the labours of the French surveyors, suggests some additions to the remarks, which occur in the place above cited, on

[1] Rasína seems to be a corruption of *Erasinus*, of which name there were many rivers in Greece.

the ancient cities which at wide intervals occupied that generally mountainous and not very productive country. *Geronthræ* or *Geranthræ*, as I have already observed [1], was at Gheráki, and *Marius* at Marí or Mário, the identity being attested by the existing names, and by the general conformity of the positions with the information of Pausanias. We are told, moreover, by M. Boblaye, that at Gheráki, "M. Lagarde a reconnu au sommet de la colline, du côté du nord, un long mur Cyclopéen;" and that at *Marius*, besides the ruins of the πόλισμα or town, which are, "deux kilomètres au sud du village moderne, et au-dessus du torrent appelé Mariórhevma, on trouve encore des ruines dans la plaine, près du village de Mários, et à mille mètres au sud du Paleókastro, en descendant la vallée. Partout, comme le dit Pausanias, coulent des sources abondantes [2].

The town of Glyppia, or of the Γλυμπεῖς as it is called by Polybius, is probably the modern Lymbiádha. If we suppose the ancient name to have assumed the form of Γλυμπιὰς, Λυμπιάδα would be exactly the Romaic form of the word, according to the custom of eliding a slender initial, and of converting the nominative into the fourth case. But it is not unlikely that Γλυμπία was the ancient local form

[1] Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 8.

[2] Rech. Géogr. sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 96.

Μαριὸς δὲ ἄλλο Ἐλευθερολακώνων πόλισμα, ὃ ἀπὸ Γερονθρῶν στάδια ἑκατὸν ἀφέστηκεν· ἱερόν ἐστιν αὐτόθι ἀρχαῖον κοινὸν θεῶν ἁπάντων, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλσος παρεχόμενον πηγάς· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ πηγαί· ὕδωρ δὲ ἄφθονον, εἴπερ ἄλλο τι χωρίον, παρέχεται καὶ Μαριός. Pausan. Lacon. 22, 6 (8).

of the Hellenic Ὀλυμπία, and that Lymbiádha, and O'lymbo-khória, as the district is called which extends southward from Lymbiádha towards Gheráki, may originate in the same ancient name Olympia, having the local form of Glympia. Lymbiádha and O'lymbo are modern names found in other parts of Greece. The only objection to this location of *Glympia* is, that Pausanias simply describes Glyppia as *above* Marius, which, Lymbiádha being 12 G. M. distant in a direct line from Mário, seems to require a situation for *Glympia* nearer to Mário; about midway, moreover, there are unquestionable proofs of another ancient town. "Au village de Kosmás (says M. Boblaye) on trouve des tombeaux antiques: et les habitants, qui vendent aux étrangers beaucoup de petites figurines en bronze, prétendent qu'il existe des ruines de ville au pied du (mont) Mazaráki [1]." Pausanias, however, who describes temples and other objects at Marius and Geronthræ, and notices Glyppia and Selinus [2] very slightly, as if he had not visited them, may have had an incorrect idea of the relative situations of some of these towns, as he certainly had of some of the distances in this country, if his text is correct in assigning 100 stades as the road distance between Geronthræ and Marius, the direct interval being six geographical miles: or in giving 20 stades as the

[1] Rech. Géogr. p. 97.

[2] Κώμη δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ πόλισμά (Marium sc.) ἐστιν, ἐν μεσογαίᾳ καὶ αὐτὴ, Γλυππία· καὶ ἐς κώμην ἑτέραν Σελινοῦντα ἐκ Γερονθρῶν ἐστιν ὁδὸς σταδίων εἴκοσι. Τάδε μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀκριῶν ἄνω πρὸς ἠπειρον· τὰ δὲ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ πόλις Ἀσωπὸς, &c. Pausan. Lacon. 22, 6 (8).

distance between Selinus and Geronthræ; such a proximity of two towns in a country where they stood generally so widely apart, being scarcely conceivable. Disregarding the distance, therefore, and merely considering Selinus as having been situated beyond Geronthræ in coming from Acriæ, and to the *northward* of Geronthræ, because the district to the *eastward* of that town was occupied by Marius, there still remains a probability that the vestiges of antiquity at Kosmá are those of *Selinus*. It is not likely that they indicate the site of *Polichna*, because this being named by Polybius, together with the towns on the sea-coast, Prasiæ, and Cyphanta; and as the first among these places taken by Lycurgus, king of Sparta, in an expedition against the Argives in the year B.C. 219[1], *Polichna* is likely to have been nearer than Lymbiádha to the sea-coast. I am inclined, therefore, to place it at Réonda, where are ruins of a fortified town of the Lower Empire, and among them some remains of Hellenic walls, which have not been noticed by the French surveyors, but the existence of which I learn from Mr. Finlay, who has visited the ruins at Réonda. The strong situation of this place, and the sources from which it took its Byzantine name of Réonda, (τὰ Ῥέοντα,) made it naturally the chief place of the elevated but cultivable country which borders upon the ancient Prasiatis, and contains the modern towns of Prastó and Korako-vúni. Possibly a question may arise, whether Réonda is not rather the site of *Glympia*, this town having been described by Polybius as

[1] Polyb. 4, 36. Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 10.

situated on the confines of Laconia and Argeia[1]; and Réonda being much nearer than Lymbiádha to the *Argolic* boundaries. But it must be considered that when the Messenians, in the year B.C. 218, were attacked at Glympia by the Spartans, under Lycurgus, they were on their march from Tegea to effect a junction with Philip, son of Demetrius, in the plain of Helos; that they marched through Cynuria, instead of taking the direct road from Tegea, because the latter would have carried them too near to Sparta; but that, on the other hand, as their object was a speedy arrival at Helos, they were not likely to have made so great a circuit as Réonda would have required. The intermediate line by Lymbiádha, therefore, was the most likely for them to have pursued. Lymbiádha, moreover, is exactly in the situation that would have been likely to tempt Lycurgus to attack them from Sparta, being nearer to Sparta than any other point on the road from the *Cynurian* frontier to *Helos*. As to the castle of *Glympia*, into which the Messenians retired, it has its representative as well at Lymbiádha as at Réonda[2].

[1] Γλυμπεῖς, χωρίον ὃ κεῖται περὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς. Polyb. v. 20.

[2] Lycurgus, unable to effect any other advantage than the killing of eight horsemen, and the capture of some horses and baggage, retired to Sparta; the Messenians returned home through the Argeia and Tegeatis; and Philip, quitting the Helia, marched back to Amyclæ: after which occurred the actions at Menelaium and Sparta, concerning which, see Travels in Morea, i. p. 139, seq.

VOL. iii. p. 19.

I have already shown cause for correcting the suggestion here made, that the ancient city which stood at the Kaly'via of Gheorghítzi was *Ægys*, by the reasons given for placing *Ægys* on the western branch of the *Alpheius*, and on the western declivities of the *Taygetic* range[1]: if such was the position of *Ægys*, it is not likely to have been a member of the Laconic *Tripolitis*, of which the three component cities occupied probably the whole of the vale of the *Eurotas* above *Sparta*, as far as the *Arcadian* frontier, and were all within that valley. There can be little doubt that the ancient remains near the Kaly'via of Gheorghítzi mark the site of one of the three cities; and there is great reason to believe, as before remarked, that it was *Carystus*, which, we know, bordered on the *Ægytis*[2]: the other two, as already suggested, were probably *Belemina* and *Pellana*, the sites of which have already been described[3].

VOL. iii. p. 23.

On referring to page 234 of the present volume, the reasons will be seen for believing that the river of Ghianéus or Xerilopotámi is not, as here supposed, the *Gatheates*, but the *Carnion*.

[1] See above, p. 235. [2] See above, p. 347.
[3] Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 16, 20.

VOL. iii. p. 56.

Inert Plain, roads Prinus, Climax, Xenis, Nestane, &c.[1]

Although the French surveyors were enabled to trace the natural water-courses of the *Mantinice*, and to ascertain the position of all the outlets or katavóthra, more correctly than I could do, visiting the plain in the winter and spring, when there are generally inundations, such as render any thing like a complete hydrography impracticable, I am still of opinion that the vale of Luka, or κόλπος of the *Mantinic* plain, opposite to the *Scope*, was the ἀργὸν πεδίον, or "*inert plain*" of Pausanias[2]. The French surveyors, on the contrary, identify with the Inert Plain the valley which lies below Tzipianá to the north. The description of the Inert Plain by Pausanias is indeed applicable to the vale of Tzipianá, inasmuch as there is in this valley a katavóthra, or chasm, into which the running waters flow; but there

[1] For the better understanding of the following remarks, a plan of the Mantinic and Tegeatic plains, on a larger scale than the general map, is subjoined.

[2] Ὑπερβαλόντα δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου πεδίον ἐκδέξεταί σε ἀργὸν καλούμενον, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐστί· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατερχόμενον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀργὸν εἶναι τὸ πεδίον ποιεῖ, ἐκώλυέ τε οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο εἶναι λίμνην, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἠφανίζετο ἐς χάσμα γῆς· ἀφανισθὲν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἄνεισι κατὰ τὴν Δεινήν· ἔστι δὲ ἡ Δεινὴ κατὰ τὸ Γενέθλιον καλούμενον τῆς Ἀργολίδος, ὕδωρ γλυκὺ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνερχόμενον. Arcad. 7, 1. See Travels in Morea, ii. p. 480; iii. p. 47.

is the same provision of nature in all the other parts of the *Mantinic* plain, with this difference between the valleys of Luka and Tzipianá, that in the former the chasm and the stream running into it are very small, whereas those of Tzipianá are of such magnitude, that the river, which rises at Sanga and flows along the middle of the valley, turns a mill standing at the entrance of the katavóthra. There is, moreover, a sufficient slope on either side of this valley to keep the river which drains it in a channel in the middle, so that the plain is seldom or never in that state, which caused the plain, intended by Pausanias, to be named Ἀργὸν, or the Inert, an epithet perfectly adapted to the vale of Luka as well as to all the adjacent part of the *Mantinic* plain.

Nor does the vale of Tzipianá seem better suited to another part of the description given by Pausanias of the Inert Plain, namely, that the emissary of its *zerethra* was at *Deine*, or the fountain of fresh water, now called Anávolo, which rises in the sea near the *Argolic* coast, between *Lerna* and the *Thyreatis*, there being a strong presumption that this great fountain is the emissary of a larger river than any in the *Mantinice*, and that it is derived from that which drains the greater part of the *Tegeatis*, and enters the *Corythic* zerethra or katavóthra of Persová. It is much more credible that the river of Tzipianá flowing from north to south, and that of Luka from south to north, unite at some subterraneous point between them, and that afterwards flowing eastward they emerge at the fountains of *Pontinus* or *Lerne*, or possibly that they form a junction with

the river of *Stymphalus*, which (as ancients and moderns agree in believing) emerges at the source of the *Erasinus* at the mills of Argos [1].

A general view of the levels and water-courses of the plains of *Tegea* and *Mantineia* may serve to illustrate this question. It is remarkable that while the small, though numerous, katavóthra of the *Mantinic* plains are inadequate to absorb the superfluous waters which inundate them, the two chasms of the *Tegeatice* at the Takí and Persová are of sufficient capacity to carry off streams larger than those which now flow into them. There are indeed small lakes around them during the greater part of the year, but these are caused by the lowness of the ground around them, not by the insufficiency of the chasms or subterraneous channels. Nature, therefore, seems to have intended that the *Mantinice* should be drained in part by means of the chasms of the *Tegeatice*. The ridge, however, on the northern side of *Tegea*, which separates its plain from that to the east of Tripolitzá, made the drainage of the *Mantinice* difficult, if not impossible, towards the Takí or *Manthuric* zerethra. The *Corythic* zerethra, or katavóthra of Persová, therefore was the only chasm to which the operation could advantageously be directed. But this, as well as the *Manthuric* chasm, was in the territory of *Tegea*, always a rival, and not unfrequently a hostile state; and hence the drainage of the *Mantinic* plain was often a subject of dispute, negotiation, or agreement between the two cities when in their autonomous condition. During

[1] Travels in Morèa, ii. p. 340, seq.; iii. p. 113, 145.

the Peloponnesian war, in the year B.C. 418, when Agis, king of Sparta, in alliance with the Tegeatæ and some other Arcadians, was opposed to the Argives and their auxiliaries of Athens and of Mantineia, we are informed by Thucydides that he made a movement from a position near Mantineia into the Tegeatis, and there "turned the course of the water into the Mantinice, concerning which water, because it caused much injury to the part of the plain to which it flowed, the Mantinenses and Tegeatæ were at war[1]." The boundary of the two districts was at a distance of about thirty stades to the south of Mantineia, or in the narrow part of the plain near *Scope*[2]. Agis therefore, it is evident, turned the water from the plain situated on the southern side of this opening to that part of it which adjoins it on the north. When we consider that the plain of Luka branched immediately from this part of the *Mantinic* plain, and was contiguous to it, that neither the katavóthra of Luka, nor those of the *Ophis*, or any others in the *Mantinice* were adequate to carry off the waters here occasionally accumulated, and that the only effectual drainage was towards the katavóthra of Persová, we find an additional reason

[1] Thucyd. 5, 65. Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 59.

[2] Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος χωρίον ὑποδέξεταί σε δρυῶν πλῆρες, καλούμενον Πέλαγος· καὶ ἐκ Μαντινείας ἡ ἐς Τεγέαν ὁδὸς φέρει διὰ τῶν δρυῶν· Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ὅροι πρὸς Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν ὁ περιφερὴς ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ βωμός. Pausan. Arcad. 11, 1.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Παλλάντιον ἐκ Μαντινείας ἄγουσαν προελθόντι ὡς τριάκοντά που σταδίους παρήκει κατὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ὁ τοῦ Πελάγους καλουμένου δρυμός· καὶ τὰ ἱππικὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Μαντινέων ἐνταῦθα ἐμαχέσαντο ἐνάντια τῆς Βοιωτίας ἵππου. 11, 3 (5).

for believing that the plain of Luka was the ἀργὸν πεδίον, or Inert Plain of Pausanias, the superabundant waters of which were in his time, when the Roman government had put an end to all such causes of war between neighbouring cities, drained by means of a canal to those chasms, which Pausanias seems to have identified by the remark that their exit was in the sea at *Deine*.

If the plain of Luka was the Inert Plain of Pausanias, his road, named *Prinus*, was the southern of the two which led to *Mantineia* from the *Argeian* frontier, and the *Climax* was the northern,—contrary to the conclusion of the French surveyors. I have already remarked that the road from Argos to *Mantineia* was probably single as far as *Œnoë* of *Argeia;* that this place was not far from the modern Katobélissi, and that hereabouts the bifurcation occurred [1], for Pausanias seems to have intended to describe all the three entrances into Arcadia from the Argeia as commencing not from Argos, but from the Argeian frontier [2]; and we may infer that as one entered the Tegeatice from Hysiæ, so the two others entered the Mantinice from Œnoe.

It is natural to presume that one of the two latter roads entered the *Mantinic* plain to the south, the other to the north of the city, mount *Alesius*, on the eastern side, having been adverse to an easy and con-

[1] Travels in Morèa, ii. p. 413.

[2] Εἰσὶν οὖν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐσβολαὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀργείαν πρὸς μὲν Ὑσιῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Παρθένιον ἐς τὴν Τεγεατικήν, δύο δὲ ἄλλαι κατὰ Μαντίνειαν διά τε Πρίνου καλουμένης καὶ διὰ Κλίμακος. Arcad. 6, 2 (4).

venient approach in that direction, and such appears to have been the fact from Pausanias, who describes the different objects on either road, to within a short distance of the city; on the one to the fountain of the Meliastæ, seven stades distant; on the other to the fountain Arne, two (or twelve) stades distant. The two roads, therefore, could not have united, as the French geographers suppose, at Tzipianá, which is more than 30 stades distant from *Mantineia*. That Prinus was the southern, and Climax the northern of the two roads, seems evident from the simple fact, that on the road Climax, at a distance of seven stades from the city, was the fountain of the Meliastæ, whereas we know that precisely at that distance, on the road leading south from the city, stood the temple of Neptune[1]. Again, Prinus led over the centre of Mount Artemisium, passing by the reputed fountains of the Inachus, and the temple of Diana, which gave name to the mountain[2]; consequently, if Climax had been the southern of the two roads, it must have crossed the mountain to the southward of the summit, and could not have descended into the plain farther northward than the vale of Luku, which would have afforded an argument favourable to the identity of that valley with

[1] Travels in Morea, i. p. 111; iii. p. 49.

[2] Αὕτη (sc. ἡ Κλίμαξ) δὲ εὐρυτέρα τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἡ κάθοδος εἶχεν αὕτη βασμίδας ποτὲ ἐμπεποιμένας. . . . . Ἡ δὲ ὑπολειπομένη τῶν ὁδῶν στενοτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας, καὶ ἄγει διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου. Τούτου δὲ ἐπεμνήσθην καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ ὄρους ὡς ἔχοι μὲν ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔχοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου τὰς πηγάς. Pausan. Arcad. 6, 4, seq.

the *Inert Plain*, but totally adverse to the identity of the Inert Plain with the vale of Tzipianá. Climax, therefore, I conclude to have been the northern of the two roads from Œnoë to Mantineia. It followed, probably, the northern branch of the *Inachus* as far as Kaparéli, from whence it crossed the mountain to Sanga, and then the *neck*, which unites the ridge of *Alesius* with Mount Armeniá, descending into the north-eastern angle of the *Mantinic* plain. Between Kaparéli and Sanga there is an ascent and descent so steep, that nothing can be more likely than that here the road had once consisted of steps cut in the rock (whence the name Climax), but which steps it appears had ceased to exist before the time of Pausanias. From the vicinity of Pikérnes were probably collected the waters which in the time of Pausanias supplied the city of Mantineia. The Hermaic dedication to Ceres, which I purchased from a peasant of Pikérnes, renders it not unlikely that the *grove of Ceres* on Mount *Alesius* was at Pikérnes: and that *Melangeia* was not at Pikérnes, as I supposed[1]; but on the neck which unites *Alesius* with Mount Armeniá, where a brook has its rise, which now flows to the marsh of Simiádha, and may anciently have been conducted to *Mantineia* by an aqueduct, as Pausanias mentions.

The French Commission noticed a tumulus near the entrance of the plain of Luka in coming from *Mantineia*, and the remains of an ancient building at a tower which stands at the extremity of a low

[1] Travels in Morea, iii. p. 53.

narrow ridge[1], which, advancing north from Luka, divides the valley into two parts. Assuming the plain of Luka to have been the *Inert Plain*, *Nestane* stood probably on some part of the height above that plain[2], possibly at Luka itself. The *field of Mæra* seems to have been the western or narrower portion of that plain, and the remains at the tower, designated as a sacellum in the French map, was probably the temple of Ceres, where the Mantinenses held a yearly festival. Pausanias truly states that the exit from the Inert Plain was ten stades in length, and that you then enter another plain, namely, that which is bounded northward by the extremity of Mount *Alesius*, and which leads by a narrow branch to Tzipianá. In this plain was the fountain *Arne*, but at what distance from the exit of the *Inert Plain* cannot with confidence be asserted; as Pausanias gives no intimation of that distance, and the number of stades which he places between Arne and Mantineia is in some MSS. two, and in others twelve. If the latter be correct, *Arne* was about the middle distance between *Mantineia* and the entrance of the *Inert Plain*.

The temple of Neptune having stood on the southern extremity of Mount *Alesius*, at a distance

[1] See a plan and elevation of this monument in the Expéd. Scient. de la Morée, Architecture, &c., ii. pl. 54.

[2] *Nestane* would thus have been nearly opposite to the *Scope*, or where I placed it conjecturally in Travels in Morea, iii. p. 54.

Nestane appears from Stephanus to have been also called Nostia: Νοστία κώμη Ἀρκαδίας· Θεόπομπος τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ Φιλιππικῶν. Ἔφορος τὸ ἔθνικον Νεστάνιος ἔφη, ὥς τε καϑ' αὐτὸν Νεσταvία λέγεσθαι, ἡ αὐτὴ γὰρ τῇ προτέρᾳ, ὡς ἔηλον ἐξ ἄλλων. Stephan. in Νοστία. V. et Suid. in Νοστέα.

of seven stades from Mantineia, on the direct road called *Xenis*, which led along the western foot of that mountain towards Tegea[1], we have the exact position as well of the temple as of the turning to the left, which led, at the end of five stades, to the tombs of the daughters of Pelias, and twenty stades further to the place called Phœzon, near which commenced the narrow pass where stood the monument of Areïthous[2]; for twenty-five stades is exactly the distance between the position of the temple of Neptune on the southern extremity of Mount *Alesius*, and the pass which leads up to Tzipianá, as well as into the valley to the north of that place; there seems no question, therefore, as to the situation of the sepulchre of the Peliades or of Phœzon, or as to the identity of the pass of Tzipianá with that where, in the time of Pausanias, stood another monument which attested that the pass was the same στεινωπὸς ὁδὸς, where Lycurgus in times of yore was said to have pierced Areïthous with his spear before the Coryneta could make use of his club of iron[3].

[1] Polyb. 11, 11. 14. Pausan. Arcad. 10, 2. Travels in Morea, i. p. 111; iii. p. 49.

[2] Travels in Morea, iii. p. 50. Pausan. Arcad. 11, 2, seq. The text is defective, and leaves a doubt whether there was a monument of the Phœzi, or Phœzon was merely the name of a place.

[3] Δίου Ἀρηϊθόου, τὸν ἐπίκλησιν Κορυνήτην
Ἄνδρες κίκλησκον, καλλίζωνοί τε γυναῖκες,
Οὕνεκ' ἄρ' οὐ τόξοισι μαχέσκετο, δουρί τε μακρῷ,
Ἀλλὰ σιδηρείῃ κορύνῃ ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας.
Τὸν Λυκόοργος ἔπεφνε δόλῳ, οὔ τι κράτεΐ γε,
Στεινωπῷ ἐν ὁδῷ, ὅθ' ἅρ' οὐ κορύνη οἱ ὄλεθρον
Χραῖσμε σιδηρείη· πρὶν γὰρ Λυκόοργος ὑποφθὰς
Δουρὶ μέσον περόνησεν· ὁ δ' ὕπτιος οὐδὲι ἐρείσθη.
Il. II. 138.

The vale of Tzipianá not only fails to correspond to the Inert Plain of Pausanias, but it agrees exactly with another valley described in ancient history, namely, that ὄπισθεν κόλπος τῆς Μαντινικῆς, or bay or retired valley of the Mantinice, which was very near the city, and into which Agesilaus, in the year 370 B.C., retired one evening with the forces he had brought from Sparta to interrupt the Mantinenses in the rebuilding of their walls after the battle of Leuctra[1]. The next morning, finding that the enemy from Mantineia were collecting on the hills, he perceived that it was necessary to lose no time in removing out of the valley. Having taken every necessary precaution, therefore, for the protection of his rear[2], he returned through the pass into the plain; that pass having evidently been the same as that in which stood the monument of Areïthous.

It may be thought perhaps that the ὄπισθεν κόλπος of Xenophon, and the ἀργὸν πεδίον of Pausanias, may have been one and the same. But this is very unlikely, as in that case the objects described by Pausanias, between the Inert Plain and Mantineia, must have been nearly, if not exactly, in the same line as those between the temple of Neptune and the pass of Areïthous, whereas his narrative

[1] ἑσπέρας δ' ἐπιγινομένης, ἔλαθε στρατοπεδευσάμενος εἰς τὸν ὄπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς, μάλα σύεγγυς καὶ κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα. Xenoph. Hellen. 6, 5, § 17. Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 73, seq.

[2] ἔγνω ἐξακτέον εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου . . . . . καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ στενοῦ ἔξηγε. § 18.

leaves scarcely a doubt that they were in very different situations.

In conclusion, therefore, it appears that I differ from the French geographers, not only as to the Inert Plain and the roads Prinus, Climax, and Xenis, but likewise as to the position of Arne, Nestane, and those depending upon the latter.

Nor is their identification of Tzipianá, where M. Vaudrimey observed remains of an ancient town or fortress[1], with *Melangeia* free from a strong objection. *Melangeia* was at the fountain-head of an aqueduct which supplied *Mantineia*, whereas the river of Tzipianá is at the lowest part of its course at that place, and there enters the earth at a point which is on a level as low at least as that of *Mantineia* itself.

VOL. iii. p. 69.

According to Xenophon the Mantinenses were obliged, by the terms of their peace with the Lacedæmonians after the destruction of their city walls by Agesipolis, B.C. 385, to evacuate their city, and to dwell in four small towns, as in the times anterior

[1] M. Vaudrimey a vu près du bourg Tsipianá les ruines de cette localité (Melangeïa). Il ne reste de bien apparent qu'une partie des murs de l'Acropole; ils sont construits en assises plus irrégulières que celles de Mantinée. La porte principale, masquée par une tour carrée, s'ouvre du côté du mont Artemisius: la ville était inaccessible du côté de la plaine. Boblaye, Rech. Géogr. &c. p. 141.

to its foundation[1]. But this state of things continued only until the battle of Leuctra, fourteen years afterwards. Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias[2] all mention this dispersion or διοικισμὸς κατὰ κώμας of the Mantinenses, but the two former allude to five towns[3]. Possibly the fifth was that of which Pausanias observed ruins on a hill called *Ptolis*, situated in the midst of the northern portion of the *Mantinic* plain, about a mile to the north of the hill of Gurtzúli. Nothing is more likely than that, before the collecting of the aristocratical towns into one democratic city, the principal *come* of the Mantinenses was here situated, and that it was named Mantineia.

Pausanias has preserved the names of two of the Mantinic towns, Nestane and Mæra. *Nestane* I have supposed to have occupied a position in the Inert Plain or vale of Luka. *Mæra* was distant thirty stades from the city, at the northern extremity of the *Mantinic* plain, on the western of two roads, which led from *Mantineia* to *Orchomenus*, and was situated, therefore, at or near Khan Beláli[4]. The two κόλποι, to the east and west of *Mantineia*, the former of which I have identified with the

[1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καθῃρέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, διῳκίσθη δὲ ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῇ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾤκουν. Hellen. 5, 2, § 7.

[2] Pausan. Arcad. 8, 5 (9). Bœot. 14, 2 (4).

[3] πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, προσέταττον τὰ μὲν τείχη καθελεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μετοικῆσαι πάντας εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας πέντε κώμας, ἐξ ὧν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν τὸ παλαιὸν συνῴκησαν. Diodor. 15, 5.

Μαντίνεια μὲν ἐκ πέντε δήμων ὑπ' Ἀργείων συνῳκίσθη. Strabo, p. 337.

[4] Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 97.

ὄπισθεν κόλπος τῆς Μαντινικῆς of Xenophon, the latter with the plain of Alcimedon of Pausanias, indicate the situation of the two remaining Mantinic comæ. The eastern was a fortified town, as appears by some remains of its walls at Tzipianá; but as to its name, I cannot offer any conjecture. Of the name of the town which occupied the bay, or retired valley, to the westward, we are better informed, though still imperfectly.

Polybius, in describing the third battle of Mantineia, informs us that the forces of Philopœmen were drawn up across the plain on the southern side of the city, protected by a trench in the front, which crossed the plain from the temple of Neptune to the hills of the Elisphasii [1]. These people, therefore, appear to have occupied all the valley of which the plain of Alcimedon comprehended a part, if not the whole. Commentators agree in considering Elisphasii an erroneous reading. If Ἑλικάσιοι was the word, as Gronovius proposes, the name of the western Mantinic come was Helice [2]. In Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 88, I proposed Ἑλισσώνιοι; but as we learn from Pausanias that the boundary line between the Mantinenses and Megalopolitæ was on the crest of the Mænalian range [3], and that Helisson was one of the Arcadian towns which contributed to people Megalopolis at the time of its foundation [4], and was consequently in the Megalopolitis, it is

[1] Polyb. 11, 11. See Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 88.

[2] Stephanus in Ἑλική gives Ἑλικήσιοι as one of the forms of the Ethnic of the Achaian Helice; Ἑλικάσιοι would be the Arcadian form.

[3] Arcad. 12, 3 (4). See above, p. 231. [4] Arcad. 27, 3.

evident that the Helissonii could not have extended so far to the eastward as the heights immediately bordering the Mantinic plain; but that between those heights and the crest of *Mænalus* there was ample space for one of the Mantinic comæ. It is remarkable that the Ethnic of *Elymia*, a place described by Xenophon as situated between Mantineia and Orchomenus, and which some extant remains of antiquity have induced me to place at Levídhi, is a name not less likely than the Gentile of Helisson to have been corrupted into Ἑλισφάσιοι; and that there is every reason to believe that the ancient town which stood at Levídhi was one of the *Mantinic* comæ; because it commanded the pass leading out of the *Orchomenian* plain into that of *Alcimedon*, and in all probability, therefore, had that plain, which we know from Pausanias to have belonged to Mantineia, in its territory. Possibly Ἐλυμάσιοι, from Ἐλυμή, may have been the word written by Polybius. The Gentile of the Arcadian Elyme, or Elymia, is the more likely to have had that termination, as the people of this place would as usual be distinguished from those of Elymia in Macedonia, who called themselves Ἐλυμιῶται [1].

VOL. iii. p. 71.

The *Ophis* is here improperly described as flowing from Tzipianá, but properly as flowing to the southwestward of the ruins of *Mantineia*, in which direc-

[1] Thucyd. 2, 99. Arrian, Exp. Alex. 1, 7. Ptolem. 3, 13. Stephan. in Ἐλίμεια.

tion it enters a katavóthra situated two miles from the ruins. During the ages preceding the demolition of the city by Agesipolis, the Ophis had been made to flow through the city; and probably all the water-courses of the plain to the southward were then collected into one channel above the city, and below it were re-conducted to the katavóthra, having been subsidiary perhaps in both situations to a system of irrigation, as beneficial to agriculture as the neglect of it is now pernicious.

VOL. iii. p. 96.

The hill, which in the time of Pausanias was called Ptolis, cannot be mistaken, being the only height in the northern *Mantinic* plain to the northward of the hill of Gurtzúli[1]. Ptolis I have already suggested to have been the site of *Mantineia* prior to the construction of the new city to the south of Gurtzúli; when Mantineia was nothing more than the head of the five demi into which the Mantinenses were then divided. Bishop Thirlwall, with reference to a comparative remark on the two situations,

[1] On the road to Orchomenus, on which occurred the hill of Ptolis, Pausanias, Arcad. 3 (5), first notices the Stadium of Ladas, then a lofty tumulus, called the tomb of Penelope, which was to the right of the road; and thus continues:—Τοῦ τάφου δὲ ἔχεται τούτου πεδίον οὐ μέγα, καὶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, τὰ ἐρείπια ἔτι τῆς Μαντινείας ἔχον τῆς ἀρχαίας· καλεῖτο δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις. These words seem to require some emendation, the hill of Ptolis being an eminence of very inconsiderable height in the midst of a large plain. Pausanias wrote perhaps, πεδίον καὶ ὄρος οὐ μέγα, or would a simple change of the comma, placing it after πεδίον, instead of after μέγα, be sufficient?

occurring in Travels in Morĕa, ii. p. 41, has misunderstood me as having referred in that remark not to the hill of *Ptolis*, but to that of Gurtzúli; very truly adding, that there is no proof of the latter having ever been included within the ancient fortifications of Mantineia. In fact, no person who has visited Mantineia can suppose that it ever has been within the permanent defences of the city; and the exclusion of this steep and lofty cone, the summit of which was not more than a mile distant from the centre of Mantineia, is a curious fact in reference to the military engineering of the Greeks. When we consider, however, that, in order to make this height permanently serviceable to the defence of the city, it would have been necessary to construct a fortress on the summit, and to inclose the face towards Mantineia with walls, doubling the expense of fortifying, and requiring a much larger garrison than the circular inclosure in the plain, which in itself presented on every side a well-flanked wall, strengthened by a wet ditch, there is no longer any great reason for being surprised at the exclusion of the height of Gurtzúli. In times of war it might be connected with the city by temporary works of defence, and might long be defended against an enemy, who, when possessed of it, would indeed be able to observe every military movement within the city, but was still too distant to effect much injury with ancient missiles. This would have been different perhaps after the time of Alexander the Great, when balistic instruments and the art of attacking fortified places were greatly improved, and led to a similar improvement in the arts of defence.

VOL. iii. p. 99.

According to the French map, the rivulet here mentioned as flowing in a direction contrary to that of the road, turns westward, and runs into a katavóthra in the way to Kakúri. It cannot therefore, as here imagined, have joined the *Helisson*.

VOL. iii. p. 107.

The river which enters a katavóthra two miles to the north-east of Skotiní is formed of three branches. One flows south from Mount Gavriá, of the *Phliasia*; a second to the north, from Mount Armeniá, on the confines of the *Mantinice*; and the third eastward, from Mount Sactá, passing by Skotiní. The two former, running in opposite directions, water a continued valley about ten miles in length, about the middle of which is the katavóthra above-mentioned at the junction of the branch from Skotiní. In the southern division of the valley, where it widens considerably, stands Buyáti; at a mile to the north-east of which the French commission observed some remains of antiquity, which they suppose, with great probability, to be those of *Alea*.

VOL. iii. p. 109.

The fountain of Stymphalus not only supplied an aqueduct which the Emperor Hadrian constructed

for the Roman colony of Corinth, but, assisted by other small streams of the Stymphalia, it formed a lake in the winter season, and in the summer a river, which flowed through the mountains, and at its re-appearance at the foot of Mount Chaon in the Argolic plain was named Erasinus[1]. The Stymphalii recorded their belief in the identity of their river with the Erasinus by worshipping the rivers Erasinus and Metope under the forms of oxen. Metope, according to Callimachus and Ælian[2], was the river of Stymphalus, but Pausanias applied the name Stymphalus to the river, as well as to the city and the fountain: from the genders of the two words, however, it seems most likely, that Metope was the source, and that the river was Stymphalus, identified with Erasinus. Callimachus describes the river Metope as pebbly (πολύστειος), which seems not very appropriate to a stream issuing in a body from the earth, and flowing through a marsh. But the Alexandrian poets were not very particular in the epithets which they attached to localities of Greece.

Vol. iii. p. 145.

In the year 1821, the *zerethra* or subterraneous channel leading from the plain of *Pheneus* to the

[1] Herodot. 6, 76. Strabo, p. 275. 389. Pausan. Corinth. 3, 5. 24, 7, (6). Arcad. 4, 3 (6). 22, 2. Stat. Theb. i. v. 357. Tr. in Moréa, iii. p. 112 seq.

[2] Callim. Hymn. ad Jovem, v. 26. Ælian. Var. Hist. 2, 33.

sources of the *Ladon* at Lykúria became obstructed, in consequence of which the water continued to rise in the plain, until it had surrounded the height of the ancient Pheneus at the upper extremity of the plain; thus covering this fertile district on every other side, as far as the slopes of the mountains, and destroying seven or eight square miles of cultivated country; in this state the plain of Pheneus still remains. In Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 115, 140, 151, the reader will find a description of the *Pheneatis*, as it existed in the year 1806, and the change which has taken place in the plain will be understood from a comparison of the annexed topographical sketch,

made in the year abovementioned, with the same district, as exhibited in the map of the Moréa. As we know that the *Pheneatic zerethra* were not obstructed for the *first* time in 1821, we may look forward in due time to a natural deobstruction and to a restoration of the plain to the uses of agriculture; but we may expect at the same time a repetition of that inundation of the country about *Olympia*, which is recorded to have happened on the former occasion. According to Pliny the calamity had occurred five times; but Eratosthenes, who lived three centuries earlier, alludes only to a single instance[1], and it seems not very likely that the accident should have happened so frequently as Pliny represents, when we consider that the ὄρυγμα or trench of Hercules, of which the remains still exist, was a simple canal of drainage, five stades in length and thirty feet deep, made for the purpose of conveying the river in a single body across the plain to the zerethra, and which, although useful against the ordinary effects of the seasons, was powerless in saving the plain from such an accident as the obstruction of the natural subterraneous channels[2]. Had such obstructions, and consequent inundations, been frequent, the plain would hardly have been worthy of a Herculean labour. When I visited the *Pheneatice*, the plain still derived some benefit from the work of Hercules; one bank of the canal was a conspicuous object, and was useful in preventing the inun-

[1] Plin. H. N. 31, 5 (30). Eratosth. ap. Strabo, p. 389. Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 144.

[2] Pausan. Arcad. 14, 2. Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 136.

dation of a part of the plain, while in the lower part there were small canals which conveyed the waters towards the katavóthra.

VOL. iii. p. 155.

The reader will perceive from what has been stated in p. 367 *et seq.* of this volume, that this recapitulation of the *Arcadian zerethra* requires to be enlarged. The *Mantinico-Tegeatic* plain contains not less than eight katavóthra, though some of them are so small as not easily to be discovered, except in the dry season: four of them carry the waters to the western, and four to the eastern coast of the Peninsula.

VOL. iii. p. 169.

The fountain on Mount Khelmós is not, as here stated, one of the sources of the river of Karnési, but flows like the river of Sudhená to the *Aroanius*.

VOL. iii. pp. 183. 403.

The ruins here described are probably not those of *Cerynea*, as I supposed, but of *Bura*, as the

French Commission has determined; for it now appears that the remains are little more than a mile in a direct line from the Metókhi of Trupiá, which I before recognized as standing on a part of the site of *Bura*, and where I remarked some remains, which appear to have been those of a temple [1]. Trupiá is about midway between the rivers *Buraïcus* and *Cerynites*, and about midway, also, between the ruins of *Bura* and the sea-shore, consequently in a central situation of the *Buraïce*, which comprehended probably, when the Achaic cities flourished, the space embraced by the sea and the two rivers, together with the interior country, as far as the confines of *Cynætha*. We learn from M. Boblaye, that some remains of *Ceryneia* were observed by Mr. Vietty on the mountain which rises above the left bank of the Bokhúsia or *Cerynites*, just where it issues from the mountains into the plain [2], and just above the place where I remarked some ancient remains of brick at the foot of the mountain to the left of the road leading from Trupiá to Vostítza [3]. These may have belonged to a suburb or dependency of *Ceryneia*, which itself stood, according to Strabo, in a very lofty situation [4].

The French surveyors have identified a pyramidal rock, pierced with three cavities, which are partly artificial, and above one of which is the rude form of a human face [5], with the cavern of Hercules Bura-

[1] Travels in Morêa, iii. p. 399.
[2] Recherches Géogr. &c. p. 25.
[3] Travels in Morêa, iii. p. 184, 404.
[4] ἡ Κερύνεια ἐπὶ πέτρης ὑψηλῆς ἱδρυμένη. Strabo, p. 387.
[5] Expéd. Scient. Architecture, &c. iii. pl. 84, fig. 1.

icus, described by Pausanias as having contained a small statue of the deity, still oracular in his time[1]. But the rock observed by the French officers appears from their narrative to be situated between the rivers Akráta and Dhiakófto[2], whereas the words of Pausanias place the oracular cavern in the precipitous rocks which border the *Buraïcus*, or river of Kalávryta; a position not less than five miles distant from the cavernous rock discovered by the French Commission[3]. The cavern of Hercules Buraïcus I conceive to have been in a situation similar, with respect to the river *Buraïcus*, to that of the grotto with votive niches, which I observed in the rocks bordering the *Cerynites*[4].

VOL. iii. p. 185.

The maritime level which, interrupted only by short intervals of rocky cliffs, extends along the north-eastern coast of Peloponnesus from Corinth to

[1] Achaic. 25, 6 (10). Travels in Morèa, iii. p. 406.

[2] Expéd. Scient. Architecture, iii. p. 41.

[3] M. Boblaye differs from the authors of the Architectural Section of the Expédition Scientifique, for he places the Cave of Hercules at Trupiá (Rech. Géogr. p. 27). But the words of Pausanias (καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ Βούρας ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ποταμός τε Βουραϊκὸς ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν ἐν σπηλαίῳ,) hardly allow of the cavern having been a mile distant from the river. Nevertheless, the name of Trupiá (from Τρύπη or Τροῦπα) appears to have had some connexion with the oracular *cavern*.

[4] Travels in Morèa, iii. p. 403.

Patra, appears to have been formed in the course of ages by the soil deposited by the torrents which descend from the lofty mountains that rise immediately at the back of the plains. Wherever the rivers are largest, the plains are most extensive, and each river has its correspondent promontory proportioned in like manner to its volume. These promontories are in general nearly opposite to the openings at which the rivers emerge from the mountains; but it is observable, that the greater number of the rivers flow across the plains which they have formed in a direction different from that which they pursued through the mountains, and meet the sea-coast to the right or left of the promontories. In this respect, however, the *Crius* and *Crathis* differ from the other rivers, and join the sea at their respective promontories. The most remarkable projections are *Rhium*, *Drepanum*, that of the river of *Rhypæ*, or Salmeníko, which ends in a Delta, that of the *Selinus*, to the east of Vostítza, and that of the *Buraïcus*. The Selinus may not have more than restored the loss which occurred when Helice and a part of the surrounding plain were absorbed by the sea; but in other parts of the *Achaian* shore it is probable that the plains have considerably increased during the historical ages.

Vol. iii. p. 223.

Although the distance in time from Kamári (*Aristonautæ*) to Zugrá (*Pellene*) is greater than from the latter to Tríkkala, the horizontal dis-

tance of these two intervals is nearly equal, and the difference of time is accounted for by the elevation of the site of *Pellene* above the sea, which is more than the half of that of Tríkkala. Pausanias ascribes to both the intervals a road distance of sixty stades[1]; and in his time better roads may have produced a greater approximation to equality in time. From these considerations I have now placed *Mysæum* and *Cyrus* at Tríkkala, and not in the valley of Flamborítza, in which I had before supposed these hiera to have stood.

The "copious fountains at Mysæum and Cyrus," mentioned by Pausanias[2], will suit any of the three divisions of Tríkkala: the exact situation, therefore, of the two hiera can only be determined by some discovery of antiquities.

Vol. iii. p. 228.

The river, which rises near the site of *Cleonæ*, and flows into the Corinthian bay a little westward of *Lechæum*, is named Longo. This seems to be the

[1] Achaic. 26, 7 (14); 27, 3, (9). Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 217, seq.

[2] ἔστι δὲ ἄλσος ἐν τῷ Μυσαίῳ δένδρα ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα καὶ ὕδωρ ἄφθονον ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῶν. Achaic. 27, 3 (9).

Ἀπωτέρω δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυσαίου ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καλούμενον Κῦρος . . . . . ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνέδην ἐστί. 4 (11).

Langeia of antiquity[1], the Longo being otherwise the only river in this part of the Peloponnesian coast of which the ancient name is not known. The Elissus and Asopus embraced the hill of Sicyon, and the Nemea is identified by its having been the boundary between the Corinthia and Sicyonia[2], by the extant remains of the Hierum of Nemea near its sources, and by its having been crossed in the way from Athens to Phlius[3], as well as from Corinth to Sicyon. Statius contrasts the sluggish course of the Langeia with that of the Elissus, which he has justly described as rapid, and having broken banks.

Vol. iii. p. 236.

Strabo when an αὐτόπτης was accurate. We find, accordingly, that his estimate of the height of the Acro-Corinthus (three stades and a half[4]) agrees very nearly with the measurement of the French surveyors. The perpendicular altitude of the mountain above the sea is 575 metres, equal to 1886 English feet, which is equal to three stades and a

[1] Junguntur memores, transmissi ab origine regis,
Qui Drepani scopulos et oliviferæ Sicyonis
Culta ferunt, quos pigra vado Langeia tacenti
Lambit et amfractu riparum incurvus Elissos.
Stat. Theb. 4, 49.

[2] Strabo, p. 382. Liv. 33, 15.

[3] Æschin. de Falsâ Leg. p. 50.

[4] Ὄρος ὑψηλὸν, ὅσον τριῶν ἡμισυ σταδίων ἔχον τὴν κάθετον. Strabo, p. 379.

tenth at 607 feet to the stade. Nor is there any great exaggeration in the words of Statius[1],—

> . . . . qua summas caput Acro-Corinthus in auras
> Tollit, et alternâ geminum mare protegit umbrâ.

But it would require a December's rising sun to cast a shadow of the *Acro-Corinthus* over any part of the bay of *Lechæum*.

VOL. iii. p. 244.

Dion Chrysostom describes a place of meeting of the Corinthians in terms exactly applicable to the existing amphitheatre[2]. It was without the city, in the ravine of a torrent, in a rugged and disagreeable situation, which the orator contrasts with that of the Dionysiac theatre of Athens at the foot of the Acropolis.

VOL. iii. p. 247.

The reasons here given for supposing that the platform and other remains of a Doric temple, which I observed near the cliff to the North of the extant columns on the site of Corinth, are those of the temple of Apollo, the principal sacred edifice of Lower Corinth, are in some degree con-

[1] Theb. 7, 106.

[2] Οἱ Κορίνθιοι μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν χαράδρᾳ τινὶ, πλῆθος μὲν δυναμένῳ δέξασθαι, τόπῳ ῥυπαρῷ δὲ ἄλλως· καὶ ὅπου μηδεὶς ἂν μηδὲ θάψειε μηδένα τῶν ἐλευθέρων. Or. Rhod. p. 347, Morell.

firmed by an inscription[1], to which I neglected to advert, though it has been published for more than a century. It was found by Spon and Wheler, in the year 1676, at the house of a Turk, which seems to have stood nearly, if not exactly, on the platform which I have described. and near which I observed a ruined πύργος[2]; the platform and other vestiges of a temple may have been concealed in the time of Spon by the modern buildings, all which, except the ruined Pyrgo, have been long since removed from that part of the site of ancient Corinth. Spon and Wheler deduced from the inscription, compared with Pausanias, an inference, as to the situation of the temple of Apollo, similar to that which I derived from a comparison of the ancient vestiges with the same authority.

The inscribed stone appears to have been removed from the ruins, or site of the Turkish house, to a mosque in the town, where it was not less concealed from the notice of travellers than it had been at the Turkish harem, until the mosque having been

[1] L. Hermidius Celsus et L. Rutilius . . . . (emeriti?) Augusti et L. Hermidius Maximus et L. Hermidius . . . Ædem et statuam Apollinis Augusti et tabernas Deorum.

By Spon and Wheler, the last word was read "decem," but a recent copy by Sir Gardner Wilkinson leaves scarcely any doubt that it was "Deorum."

[2] Le lendemain nous montâmes à cheval pour Sicyon, et nous prîmes à la droite pour voir une inscription, qu'on nous dit que nous trouverions à la maison de Mousselin Naib, ou Lieutenant du Cady. Nous la vîmes dans la cour d'une maison, qui est le serrail de ses femmes, et s'il n'eut pas été absent, nous n'aurions pas eu le crédit d'y entrer." Spon, Voyage, &c., p. 178. Wheler describes the stone as the "transeant over his door." Travels, p. 444.

destroyed in the Greek war, the stone now lies in the road near it. It is part of an architrave, the dimensions of which are too small to admit of its having formed part of the ancient temple of Apollo, which I have given reasons for believing to have been of the larger class of Doric hexastyles. Probably, therefore, it belonged to a sacellum which was situated within the temenus of Apollo, and was dedicated to Augustus, identified with Apollo [1]. The ten tabernæ may have served for the festivals of the Deities. The situation of the temple of Apollo, near the edge of cliffs terminating the table-land of the city, and looking down upon the harbour, resembled exactly that of similar buildings at Syracuse and Agrigentum.

Vol. iii. p. 304.

The French geographers, although they were aware of the existence of some remains of a theatre near Port *Schœnus*, now Kalamáki, at the *eastern* termination of the Isthmus of Corinth, appear not to have known that the celebrated temple of Neptune, the scene of the Isthmic games, was in the same situation. M. Boblaye remarks, "Les ruines les plus considérables indiquent que la position du temple de Neptune était au *couchant* du diolcos et de la muraille [2]." But the only Hellenic remains at

[1] Dedications to Apollo Augustus were not uncommon. See Gruter Corpus Inscriptionum, pp. 36, 1066. Orellii Insc. Lat. Select., No. 404, 1436, 2548, 2628.

[2] Rech. Géograph. p. 37.

the western end of the Isthmus, are some walls, forming a portion of those of a ruined medieval fortress, which, like its Hellenic predecessor, defended the western extremity of the lines of defence across the isthmus[1]. At the eastern end of the Hellenic line, and protected by the works which there formed its termination at the bay of Kalamáki, stood the temple of Neptune: and adjacent to it were a theatre and a stadium, as in other celebrated hiera, where periodical exhibitions took place. I observed remains of both the latter constructions, as well as of the temple of Neptune, exactly where the description of Pausanias, who had previously been treating of the places westward of Megara along the shore of the *Saronic Gulf*[2], led me to look for them. I am surprised, also, to observe, that M. Boblaye, describing the wall built "à plusieurs reprises depuis l'invasion de Xerxes jusqu'en 1463," says, "les ruines des grandes constructions de cette dernière époque, et de leur restoration en 1696, sont les seules apparentes aujourd'hui." On the contrary, there are remains of a line of Hellenic walls, which crossed the Isthmus, and were flanked by towers facing to the north. These have served as substructions to walls of different times, of which it would be difficult to discriminate the exact periods. Athens and the isthmus were fortified in the year 253, when Thessalonica was besieged, and all Greece threatened by the Goths in the reign of Valerian[3]. The

[1] See the description of the Hellenic lines, in Travels in Morea, iii. p. 287, 303.

[2] Pausan. Corinth. 1, 7.

[3] Zosim. 1, 29.

Isthmus was again fortified by Justinian towards the end of the sixth century [1], and again by the Greeks against the Turks in 1415, and by the Venetians in 1463 [2].

VOL. iii. p. 308.

The distance of 120 stades from Corinth, at which Thucydides places Crommyon [3], corresponds exactly to Kassídhi, where the French surveyors found "des ruines assez considérables [4]," though the name Kassídhi does not occur in the French map, the village probably having ceased to exist. Placing *Crommyon* at Kassídhi, a correction will be obviously required in Travels in Morea, iii. p. 307, 308. It would seem that the ruins of *Crommyon* have hitherto escaped the observation of travellers, from not having been in the road, but a little to the left of it. The ruined monument observed by Wheler, between "three and four yards high, and eight feet square, with large planks of marble and basso-relievos upon some of them [5]," appears to have been a sepulchral monument in the vicinity of *Crommyon*. To *Sidus* belonged the valley of Susáki, but the exact situation of the fortress has not been ascertained.

[1] Procop. de Ædif. 4, 2. Phranza, 1, 34. 38.
[2] Travels in Morea, iii. p. 304.
[3] Thucyd. 4, 45.
[4] Boblaye, Rech. Géogr. p. 35.
[5] Wheler's Travels, p. 436.

VOL. iii. p. 309.

The only alteration which the French survey suggests, in illustration of the battle fought between the Corinthians and Athenians on the shore below *Solygeia*, in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, is, that *Rheitus* was at the mouth of the river of Galatáki, which joins the sea at a retiring angle of the coast three miles south of Kekhriés, and that the place was named from the river. *Solygeia* stood probably at the village of Galatáki, that place corresponding to the data of Thucydides as to Solygeia, namely, that the mountain on which it stood, ὁ Σολύγειος λόφος, was twelve stades from the shore of the bay which lies between Chersonesus and Rheitus, twenty stades from the nearest part of the Isthmus, and sixty stades from Corinth[1]. These distances are found to accord perfectly with Galatáki.

VOL. iii. p. 315.

In Corinthia, beyond the Isthmus, and in the adjacent part of the Megaris, lying to the west of Megara, the ancient sites requiring to be identified are Therma, Peiræum, the Heræum, Cape Olmiæ, Œnoe, Tripodiscus, and Ægeirus. In Travels in the Moréa, iii. p. 313 *et seq.*, and in Travels in Northern Greece, ii. p. 410, the reasons will be found for placing all these sites as they will be found on

[1] Thucyd. 4, 42.

the map, except that by the error of a name, Bissiá instead of Skhinó is stated in Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 315, l. 14, to have been the site of *Œnoe*. Lieut. Stanley, R.N., Admiralty-Surveyor, remarked some ruins one mile east of Cape Melangávi, near the western end of Lake Vuliasméni. These seem to mark the exact site of the temple of Juno, which took the epithet of Acræa from the neighbouring promontory, and to be the same ruins which were observed by M. Dutroyat[1]. I am informed by Mr. Finlay that he observed some broken inscriptions and other remains of antiquity at the Kaly'via of Perakhóra, three miles from Perakhóra, on the way to its port called Stravá. These may be vestiges of some dependency of *Peiræum*, or possibly of Peiræum itself, though I am more disposed to place the latter at Perakhóra, from the fine situation and from the similar import of the two names. *Œnoe* seems justly to have been recognized by Dr. Forchhammer at a "Paleókastro, de forme quarrée, au-dessus de Skhinó[2]."

[1] M. Dutroyat, a vu sur le Cap Hagios Nikolaos, situé exactement à 7 milles Romains de Corinth, un lac remarquable, nommé Vuliasméni, des fondations d'édifice, une grande quantité de poteries antiques, des tombeaux et des citernes creusés dans le roc : quelques gros blocs sur le bord occidental du lac indiquent peut-être la place du bâtiment dont parle Xenophon. Au-dessous de la chapelle Hagios Nikolaos, qui occupe probablement l'emplacement du temple, est une caverne où l'on peut placer l'oracle de Junon. (Boblaye, Rech. Géogr. sur les Ruines de la Morée, p. 36.)

[2] Boblaye, p. 36.

VOL. iii. p. 321.

Tenea, having been sixty stades to the south of the Acro-Corinthus, occupied undoubtedly some position in the valley of the river, which rising in the same mountains as the Longo or *Langeia*, or river of *Cleonæ*, pursues a parallel course, and enters the Corinthian plain on the eastern side of the mountain of Acro-Corinthus. The name of this river has not been preserved in ancient history. Perhaps, like the *Nemea*, it was named from the principal place towards its sources, which was *Tenea*.

Although no remains of the *Teneatic* gate of the *Acro-Corinthus*, or of the *temple of Lucina*, which stood near it, have been observed in or near the modern inclosure of the fortress, we may safely presume that it stood near the south-eastern angle of the Acro-Corinthus. As the descent of the mountain into the vale of *Tenea* must have been of considerable length, a road distance of sixty stades from the walls of the fortress will hardly reach beyond Khiliomódhi. Here ancient sepulchres have been observed, in one of which a beautiful painted κύλιξ, of the fifth or sixth century B.C., has been found. At no great distance, therefore, from Khiliomódhi it is probable that *Tenea* stood. The name of Kteniá, a village a mile and a half to the southward of Khiliomódhi, may have been corrupted from *Tenea;* but the distance of Kteniá from the Acro-Corinthus is greater than 60 stades

by the road, nor have any Hellenic vestiges been there observed which can outweigh the testimony afforded by those at Khiliomódhi.

VOL. iii. pp. 349, 375.

Some remains of a fortress are still to be seen on a summit of Mount *Tricaranum*, about two miles north-eastward of the ruins of *Phlius*, near a small village named Kutzi. Professor Ross, of Athens, ascribes these ruins to *Buphia* or *Phœbia*, names which, though separate in Stephanus, he rightly judges to have belonged to one and the same place[1]. The situation, however, answers so well in every respect to that which is required by the narrative of Xenophon for *Tricarana*[2], that I cannot but identify it with that fortress. We know nothing of *Phœbia*, except that it was in the *Sicyonia*.

On the northern summit of the same ridge on which the fortress *Tricarana* was situated, Professor Ross found remains of another Hellenic fortress[3], which seems perfectly to correspond with *Thyamia* by its situation relatively to *Sicyon* and *Phlius*[4]. The site forms a triangle with the villages of Stímanga and Skrapáni, at the distance of about a mile from each. It lay in the mountain road from *Phlius* to *Sicyon*, rather nearer to the former city than to the latter,

[1] Bulletino dell Instituto di Corr. Archæol. xii. p. 21.
[2] Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 346, seq.
[3] Bulletino di Corr. Arch. xii. p. 22.
[4] Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 375.

and nearly on a line with *Titane*, on the opposite side of the *Asopus*.

VOL. iii. p. 354.

Professor Ross has confirmed the conjecture here advanced as to *Titane*, having discovered its remains a little eastward of Vóivoda, a village on the same mountain side on which Paradhísi and Liópesi are situated, about two miles south of the latter. The summit of a narrow ridge, advancing from the mountain towards the valley of the *Asopus*, was well fortified on every side, and at the extremity there was a citadel, of which the walls and towers subsist in some places to the height of twenty or thirty feet. Titane, therefore, was a small fortified *town*,—a fact not apparent from Pausanias, who alludes only to Titane as a mountain upon which stood temples of Æsculapius and of Minerva, surnamed Coronis[1]. Within the acropolis Dr. Ross found a church of St. Tryphon, preserving fragments of Doric columns, as well as of a frieze, sixteen inches high, with metopes, thirteen inches broad[2]. As these dimensions seem too small for the temple of Æsculapius, they may have belonged to that of Minerva, who, as protectress of citadels, is likely to have had her temple within the acropolis. No remains of the temple of Æsculapius, therefore, are likely to be found without an excavation.

[1] Pausan. Corinth. 2, 7 (8). Travels in Morea, iii. p. 377.

[2] Bulletino di Corr. Archæol. xii. p. 27.

VOL. iii. p. 383.

The ancient wall here mentioned as stretching from the mountain to the shore, although it was probably some territorial boundary, could not, as here suggested, have marked that of *Sicyon* towards *Pellene*, for Pausanias describes that boundary as at or near a river which had its origin in the mountains above Pellene[1], that is to say, in Mount Cyllene. Its name, if he ever gave it, has dropped from his text. The only river which, having that origin, flows to the gulf of Corinth is the Trikkalinó, which rises at and above Tríkkala, flows along the eastern side of the hill of *Pellene*, and, leaving Xylókastro near its left bank at the point where it issues from the mountains, joins the sea after a course of a mile through the maritime plain. And this is so much more likely to have been the river intended by Pausanias, as it is the greatest between the *Sythas*, near *Sicyon*, and the *Crius*, near *Ægeira*. Scylax assists in the same conclusion, by stating 120 stades to have been the length of the Sicyonian coast[2], which exactly agrees with the twelve geographical miles between the mouth of the Trikkalinó and that of the *Nemea*, which separated the Sicyonia

[1] Ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κατέρχονται ὑπὲρ τὴν Πελλήνην, πρὸς μὲν Αἰγείρας καλούμενος Κρῖος. ἔχειν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Τιτᾶνος Κρίου (ὡς) καὶ ἄλλος ὠνόμασται ποταμὸς, ὃς ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους ἐς τὸν Ἕρμον κάτεισι, καθότι δὲ Πελληνεῦσιν ὅροι τῆς χώρας πρὸς Σικυωνίους εἰσὶ, κατὰ τοῦτο ποταμός σφισι τὶς, ἔσχατος ποταμῶν τῶν Ἀχαϊκῶν, ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκδίδωσι θάλασσαν. Pausan. Achaic. 27, 4 (11). Travels in Morea, iii. p. 393.

[2] P. 15. Hudson.

from the Corinthia. The sources of the Trikkalinó having been entirely in the *Pellenæa*, and the river having bordered the eastern suburbs of Pellene, Pausanias regarded it as a Pellenæan river, as appears by his words ποταμός σφισι; and hence, although it marked the frontier of the Pellenæa towards Sicyon in the lower part of its course, the crest of the north-easterly continuation of the ridge of Mount Zy'ria, and not the river, was more probably the common boundary in the interior country. It appears that *Olurus*, now Xylókastro, was a fortress of the *Pellenenses* on its maritime frontier. *Donusa*, now Mount Koryfí, the Donoessa or Gonoessa of Homer[1], was another of their fortresses. *Aristonautæ*, near the modern Kamári, was their harbour, and their sea-coast was separated, probably, from that of *Ægeira* by the promontory Avgó[1].

The French Commission have identified the river of Tríkkala or Xylókastro with the *Sys* of Ptolemy[2]; but if the Sys was the same as the *Sythas* of Pausanias[3], it could not have been so far from Sicyon, that is to say, about 10 miles by the road. Such a distance was incompatible with the procession of seven male and seven female children, who on the festival of Apollo went from Sicyon to the Sythas,

[1] Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 212, 217, 224, 386.

[2] Ptolem. 3, 16.

[3] Καταβᾶσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Σικυωνίων καλούμενον λιμένα καὶ τραπεῖσιν ἐπ' Ἀριστοναύτας, τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Πελληναίων, ἔστιν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν· προελθοῦσι δὲ κατὰ τὴν λεώφορον Ἑλισσών τε καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Σύθας ἐστὶν, ἐκδιδόντες ἐς θάλασσαν. Pausan. Corinth 12, 2. Travels in Moréa, iii. p. 383.

and returned to the temple of Apollo in the agora of that city[1]: and this seems a sufficient reason for rejecting the reading of Siebelis and Bekker in the passage of Pausanias relating to the river of Pellene, where for the word τις of the MSS. they have substituted Σύθας. Nor can Σῦς, the proposed reading of Kuhnius, in the same place, although more plausible, be admitted, unless Sys and Sythas were different rivers, which it is not easy to believe.

Vol. iii. p. 386.

The river, which rises on the western side of the mountain Mavrióro or Mavronóro, the ancient Chelydorea, is not that which I crossed at nine A. M. of the 26th of April, but another, and larger, which I crossed at 9 · 45. The former rises on the northern side of Mount *Chelydorea*, at a village named Ghelíni. Neither of them is named in ancient history; but as *Phelloe* was in the mountains above *Ægeïra*, forty stades from thence[2], Zákhuli, or some place near it, must have been the situation of *Phelloe*, and *Phelloëis* may have been the name of the river, as Zakhulítiko is at present.

[1] οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σύθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἱκετεύοντας. Pausan. Corinth. 7, 7 (8).

[2] Pausan. Achaic. 26, 4 (10). Travels in Morèa, iii. p. 389.

VOL. iii. p. 396.

The Lago-potamó, called the river of Dhiakófto, in the lower part of its course from a village of that name near its left bank, is the only considerable stream, between *Ægeira* and *Ægium*, of which Pausanias has not left us the name. It may possibly be the Erasinus of Strabo, who, in speaking of the Erasinus of the Argeian plain, adds, Ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁμώνυμος ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς τὸν κατὰ Βοῦραν αἰγιαλόν[1]. The Dhiakófto joins the sea about midway between the sites of *Ægæ* and *Bura*, and at two-thirds of the distance from Ægeira to Bura. Ægæ had ceased to exist long before the time of Strabo[2]; all this part of the Achaian coast was consequently divided between Ægeira and Bura: and the river Dhiakófto, being much nearer to the latter site, was probably in the *Buraïce*.

VOL. iii. p. 416.

The statement here made, that the distance given by Pausanias, of 90 stades by sea between the fort of Minerva and Erineus, and that of 60 stades by sea between Erineus and Ægium, confirm the placing of the former at Psathó-pyrgo, and of the latter at the

[1] Strabo, p. 371.

[2] Polyb. 2, 41. Strabo, p. 386. Pausan. Achaic. 25, 7 (12). Arcad. 15, 4 (9).

Vineyards of Lambíri, may seem to require some explanation, as the two direct distances are nearly equal; and as the curvature of the coast, although it rendered the former paraplus longer, could not have made it longer in so large a proportion to the latter as nine to six. Consequently, this is one among the incorrect details which Pausanias has given of the paraplus between Patræ and Ægium, of which the total (230 stades) is accurate; a line parallel to the general outline of the coast, measured by openings of three G.M. in the compasses, being about 23 G. M. in length. Nevertheless, as we find that 60 stades is the true distance between Lambíri and Vostítza, and that 15 stades, assigned by Pausanias to the distance between the fortress of Minerva and the harbour of Panormus, accords with the true distance between the nearest point of the latter and Psathó-pyrgo, we may presume that Psathó-pyrgo and Lambíri, having been the only two harbours between *Panormus* and *Ægium*, were the two places intended by Pausanias; and we may consider the curvature of the coast between Psathó-pyrgo and Lambíri as a confirmation of the greater length of that portion of the paraplus which lay between the *fortress of Minerva* and *Ægium*, although the length ascribed to it by Pausanias be not correct either in itself or in its proportion to the other part.

If any doubts should still remain as to the position of the fortress of Minerva, a place named only by Pausanias, there can be none at least as to Erineus, which is described by Thucydides as a harbour

in the district of Rhypes[1]. The bay of Lambíri is the only semblance of a harbour between Vostítza (*Ægium*) and Psathó-pyrgo, and its distance from *Ægium* is exactly that at which Pausanias places Erineus.

Vol. iii. p. 418.

The geographers of the French Commission have placed *Rhypes* at some ruins on the right bank of the river Tholó, where it issues into the plain,—the same river which I suppose to have been the *Phœnix* of Pausanias,—whereas they identify the *Phœnix* with the river of Salmeníko, without considering that this would be inconsistent with the placing of *Rhypes* on the Tholó; because the Phœnix having (according to Pausanias) been a river of the Ægiatis, *Rhypes* must, on this supposition, have been situated westward of the river of Salmeníko. The distance, it is true, of the position on the Tholó from Vostítza is correctly that which Pausanias assigns as the interval between Ægium and Rhypes; it is, moreover, as he indicates, a little to the left of the main road from Ægium to Patræ[2]; but one can

[1] ὁρμίζονται κατὰ Ἐρινεὸν τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐν τῇ Ῥυπικῇ. Thucyd. 7, 34.

[2] ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον Ῥυπῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ἐρείπια· σταδίους δὲ Αἴγιον περὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥυπῶν. Αἰγίου δὲ τὴν χώραν διέξεισι μὲν ποταμὸς Φοῖνιξ. διέξεισι δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Μεγανίτας, ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέοντες. Achaic. 23, 4.

hardly conceive that two of the most important cities of Achaia[1] should have been placed so near to each other as 30 stades. We may be allowed, therefore, to suspect the accuracy of Pausanias or his text, as to the distance between Rhypes and Ægium; and the more so, as there is an evident incorrectness in others of his distances between Patræ and Ægium. *Rhypes* I have already conjectured to have stood on the banks of the river of Salmeníko, in a lofty situation like *Cyreneia* and *Bura;* and *Erineus* apparently was its port. Such a position is well adapted to the κεραυνίαι Ῥύπες of Æschylus[2], as well as to the name itself, which appears to be derived from the same origin as ἐρείπιον and the Latin *rupes*. The river was named perhaps, like the Cerynites and the Buraïcus, from the city by which it flowed, and this may partly account for its not having been noticed by Pausanias, whose only information as to Rhypes is, its position relatively to Ægium, and that it had ceased to be inhabited from the time of Augustus[3]. Strabo confirms the fact of its having been

[1] Rhypes (αἱ Ῥύπες) sent two colonies to Italy, which became opulent cities. Myscellus of Rhypes was the reputed founder (οἰκιστὴς) of Croton; and from Rubi, one of the resting-places of Horace in his way from Rome to Brundusium, some of the finest specimens of Greek art in bronze and pottery have been obtained. On some of the coins of Rubi the Greek name is written PYΨ, in the singular. From other coins it appears that the inhabitants called themselves PYBAΣTEINOI.

[2] Ῥύπες μὲν οὐκ οἰκοῦνται· τὴν δὲ χώραν Ῥυπίδα καλουμένην ἔσχον Αἰγιεῖς καὶ Φαρεῖς· καὶ Αἴσχυλος δὲ λέγει που·

Βοῦραν ἱερόν τε καὶ κεραυνίας Ῥύπας.

Strabo, p. 387.

[3] Pausan. Achaic. 18, 5 (7).

desolate about that time; but it had undoubtedly been reduced to poverty long before, as it was not among the Achaian cities which renewed the league in the year B. C. 280[1]. There may still possibly exist near the river of Salmeníko sufficient vestiges of *Rhypes* to fix its exact position.

[1] Polyb. 2, 41.

ERRATA

TO

TRAVELS IN THE MOREA.

VOLUME I.

Page	line	
77	ult.	*for* on the left are seen Vidhísova, Bótia, and Klisúra, and on the right Agrieléa and Varibópi *read* on the left are seen Agrieléa and Klisúra, and on the right Varibópi, Vidhísova, and Bótia.
95	1	*for* B.C. 392 *read* B.C. 395
191	11	*for* near Polovítza *read* above Sokhá
201	13	*for* right *read* left
231	4	*for* from Priníko to Kavo-Xy'li *read* from Kavo-Xy'li to Priníko
262	2, 3	*for* northern and southward *read* eastern and westward
282	6	*for* Kurtzúri *read* Kuskúni : *see* p. 337, l. 22.
360	19	*for* Minerva *read* Diana
365	17	*for* Tyrtæus *read* Euripides
396	26	*for* southward *read* northward
426	4, 5	*for* Ægaleum *read* Ægaleos
427	9	

VOLUME II.

Page	line	
18	8	*for* joins the Alpheius *read* joins the river of Andrítzena
42	19	*for* twenty minutes *read* fifty minutes
65	ult.	*for* Sérvoi *read* Zérzova
122	8	*for* behind Lalúsi, towards O'lono, is Zoga, *read* below Lalúsi is Zogá
188	17	*for* river of Tzóïa *read* river of Pyrgo
260	21	*for* of the peak *read* on the peak
440	11	*for* peculiarity of statues *read* peculiarity of the statues
441	penult.	*after* northern side *add* and three of the southern
466	9	*for* northern *read* south-western
	22	*dele* colossal
496	23	*for* from west to east *read* from north-west to south-east
529	11	*for* river of Vérria *read* river of Vrestená

VOLUME III.

53	24	*for* Turníki *read* Karyá
103	20	*for* north-western *read* south-western
135	10	*for* Stymphalus *read* Orchomenus
188	10	*for* eighty *read* one hundred
307	note, l. 1, 2nd col.	*for* Artemidorus *read* Apollodorus
315	14	*for* Bissiá *read* Skhinó
367	note	*for* φησιν *read* φασιν
379	20	*for* Demetrius *read* Demetrias

Inscription No. 52, is at Mistrá, not at Tripolitzá.

MAP OF
THE MOREA
PELOPONNESUS

OLYMPIA
Course of the Alpheius in 1829
Course of the Alpheius in 1813

ROYAL

OLYMPIA
Stadium
Hippodrome
Gymnasium
Palaestra
Prytaneum
Metroum
Temple of Zeus
Altar of Zeus
Treasuries
Modern road to Karytena
Kladeus R.
Temple of Hera
Temple of Pelops
Tomb of Oinomaus
Tomb of Pelops
Tomb of Mummius
Tomb of Cleoxena
Tomb of Jupiter
Tomb of Agamemnon
Tomb of Arcadia
Tomb of Cleoxena
Tomb of Olympias
Tomb of Philip
Tomb of Eurydice
Tomb of Alexander
Tomb of Ptolemy
Tomb of Seleucus
Tomb of Antiochus
Tomb of Laodice
Tomb of Berenice
Tomb of Arsinoe
Tomb of Lysimachus
Tomb of Pyrrhus
Tomb of Demetrius
Tomb of Antigonus
Tomb of Stratonice
Tomb of Perseus
Tomb of Andromache
Tomb of Hector
Tomb of Achilles
Tomb of Patroclus
Tomb of Ajax
Tomb of Telamon
Tomb of Peleus
Tomb of Thetis
Tomb of Nereus
Tomb of Doris
Tomb of Amphitrite
Tomb of Thalassa
Tomb of Oceanus
Tomb of Tethys
Tomb of Hyperion
Tomb of Theia
Tomb of Coeus
Tomb of Phoebe
Tomb of Crius
Tomb of Eurybia
Tomb of Pontus
Tomb of Gaea
Tomb of Uranus
Tomb of Cronus
Tomb of Rhea
Tomb of Themis
Tomb of Mnemosyne
Tomb of Iapetus
Tomb of Clymene
Tomb of Atlas
Tomb of Prometheus
Tomb of Epimetheus
Tomb of Menoetius
Tomb of Asopus
Tomb of Metope
Tomb of Aegina
Tomb of Zeus
Tomb of Hera
Tomb of Poseidon
Tomb of Demeter
Tomb of Hades
Tomb of Persephone
Tomb of Hermes
Tomb of Maia
Tomb of Apollo
Tomb of Leto
Tomb of Artemis
Tomb of Athena
Tomb of Hephaestus
Tomb of Aphrodite
Tomb of Ares
Tomb of Dionysus
Tomb of Semele
Tomb of Hebe
Tomb of Hercules
Tomb of Alcmene
Tomb of Iolaus
Tomb of Deianeira
Tomb of Hyllus
Tomb of Omphale
Tomb of Telephus
Tomb of Auge
Tomb of Heracles
Tomb of Megara
Tomb of Amphitryon
Tomb of Alcaeus
Tomb of Perseus
Tomb of Andromeda
Tomb of Cepheus
Tomb of Cassiopeia
Tomb of Phineus
Tomb of Danae
Tomb of Acrisius
Tomb of Proetus
Tomb of Anteia
Tomb of Bellerophon
Tomb of Glaucus
Tomb of Sisyphus
Tomb of Merope
Tomb of Aeolus
Tomb of Hippodamia
Tomb of Oenomaus
Tomb of Myrtilus
Tomb of Pelops
Tomb of Tantalus
Tomb of Niobe
Tomb of Amphion
Tomb of Zethus
Tomb of Antiope
Tomb of Dirce
Tomb of Lycus
Tomb of Nycteus
Tomb of Epopeus
Tomb of Antiope
Tomb of Sicyon
Tomb of Polybus
Tomb of Oedipus
Tomb of Jocasta
Tomb of Creon
Tomb of Menoeceus
Tomb of Haemon
Tomb of Antigone
Tomb of Ismene
Tomb of Eteocles
Tomb of Polynices
Tomb of Adrastus
Tomb of Argia
Tomb of Deipyle
Tomb of Aegialeia
Tomb of Diomedes
Tomb of Sthenelus
Tomb of Euryale
Tomb of Capaneus
Tomb of Evadne
Tomb of Iphis
Tomb of Ianthe
Tomb of Parthenopaeus
Tomb of Hippomedon
Tomb of Amphiaraus
Tomb of Eriphyle
Tomb of Alcmaeon
Tomb of Amphilochus
Tomb of Manto
Tomb of Tiresias
Tomb of Teiresias
Tomb of Oedipus
Tomb of Jocasta
Tomb of Creon
Tomb of Menoeceus
Tomb of Haemon
Tomb of Antigone
Tomb of Ismene
Tomb of Eteocles
Tomb of Polynices
Tomb of Adrastus
Tomb of Argia
Tomb of Deipyle
Tomb of Aegialeia
Tomb of Diomedes
Tomb of Sthenelus
Tomb of Euryale
Tomb of Capaneus
Tomb of Evadne
Tomb of Iphis
Tomb of Ianthe
Tomb of Parthenopaeus
Tomb of Hippomedon
Tomb of Amphiaraus
Tomb of Eriphyle
Tomb of Alcmaeon
Tomb of Amphilochus
Tomb of Manto
Tomb of Tiresias

PLAIN OF SPARTA

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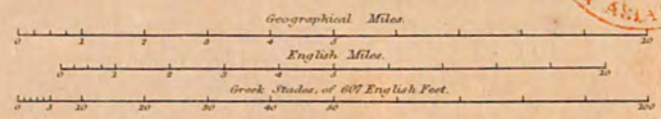
SITE OF THE HERÆUM
near
MYCENÆ
by James Robertson *Esq.*
on the Staff of
Major General Gordon
Commander of the Greek Forces
in Peloponnesus, 1836

MANTINICE AND TEGEATIS



W. Hughes, 1846.

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